

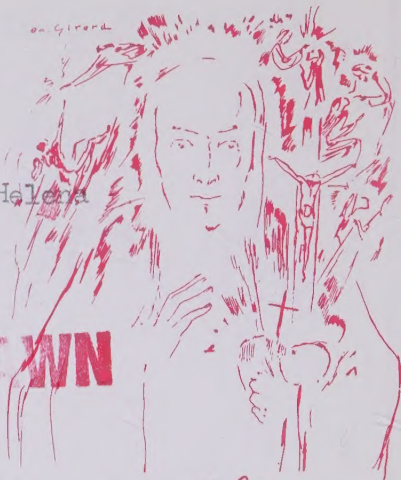


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A DIARY OF ST. HELENA





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ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM, K.C.B., G.C.B. (1768-1838)

*(From a portrait by Raeburn)*



# A DIARY OF ST. HELENA

*THE JOURNAL OF LADY MALCOLM*

(1816, 1817)

CONTAINING  
THE CONVERSATIONS OF NAPOLEON  
WITH  
SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM

EDITED BY  
SIR ARTHUR WILSON, K.C.I.E.

*With an Introduction by  
Muriel Kent*

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## INTRODUCTION

IN 1899 this Diary was edited by the late Sir Arthur Wilson, K.C.I.E., P.C., and published for the first time. It aroused a good deal of interest at that date. Lord Rosebery referred to its "vivid reports" and made several quotations from its entries in his *Napoleon: The Last Phase*, which appeared in the following year; and *A Diary of St. Helena* is included among the more important items of Napoleonic bibliography in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But, owing to the failure of the publishers of that edition, the book reached only a small public, and was very soon out of print. For that reason it seems worth while to offer a new edition to the numerous readers and students for whom the personality of Napoleon I, whether as Emperor or Exile, holds an unfailing attraction. Also, this sober, first-hand record of my great-great-uncle's conversations with Bonaparte seems at least worth comparison with other more highly coloured and partisan literature relating to the ex-Emperor at St. Helena.

I am indebted to Sir Pulteney's granddaughter, the owner of the Diary, for permission to use it again, and to Sir Arthur Wilson's Introduction to the first edition for particulars of the Admiral's career, and the connecting historical details. I have also retained his footnotes to the Diary.

Pulteney Malcolm was born in 1768, the third son of George Malcolm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, Dumfries-shire, and one of a family of

seventeen which gave several distinguished servants to the State. He entered the Navy at ten years old, under the command of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., and rose step by step in his profession, serving in almost every part of the world. He was in command of a ship during the most active period of the war with France, and took an important part in the battle of St. Domingo, for which he received the gold medal. He became Rear-Admiral in 1813; in the following year he was appointed third in command of the fleet engaged in the war with America; and in 1815 he commanded the squadron co-operating with Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign. According to family tradition, he was among the guests at the ball given by the Duchess of Richmond in Brussels on the eve of the battle. He received the K.C.B. in the same year.

In 1816 the Admiral was appointed to the command of the Cape Station, which included St. Helena, and it is with this period, June 1816–July 1817, that the Diary is concerned. He was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral in 1821, and in later years he twice commanded the Mediterranean Fleet. He was nominated G.C.B. five years before his death, which occurred in 1838. While still a captain (1809), Pulteney Malcolm married Clementina, eldest daughter of the Hon. William Fullerton Elphinstone, third son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone, and eldest brother of Admiral Lord Keith. The following Diary has always been known as “Lady Malcolm’s Diary”

in her family; but the oldest copy which has been preserved is in Sir Pulteney's handwriting, and though the entries referring to interviews at which his wife was also present may be taken as her own recollections, the greater number describe occasions when he went alone to Longwood, and it is clear that these were written from his dictation. There is other evidence on this point. Sir Hudson Lowe, in a letter to Lord Bathurst of May 13, 1817, quoted by Forsyth, mentions that it was Sir Pulteney's habit to dictate an account of his conversations with Napoleon to Lady Malcolm. There is also a letter from Sir Pulteney to his brother Gilbert, dated July 5, 1816, in which he relates the interview of the previous day in almost the same words as the Diary, adding, "I shall reduce it into a better form by way of Journal".

Some of the conversations recorded in the Diary have been published, wholly or in part, in other works which cover the events of 1816-17 at St. Helena. The accuracy of Sir Hudson Lowe's report of the stormy interview on August 18, 1816, was confirmed at the time by the Admiral, and Las Cases and O'Meara give Napoleon's version of what had passed on certain of these occasions. Many of the views expressed by Napoleon, too, are familiar through other sources; for, as a master of argument and phrase, he was inclined to expatiate on certain themes repeatedly. Yet this little sketch of life at St. Helena during the earlier part of the exile bears the mark of accuracy; and the Malcolms "stood almost alone



among the English official community" in their opportunities for intercourse with Napoleon, and in being on terms of friendship with him.

It may be useful to recall the order of events after Waterloo, and a few of the principal facts of Napoleon's exile. A Convention of the Allied Powers, on August 2, 1815, declared that he was considered as their prisoner, and entrusted his custody to the British Government; while Austria and Russia were to appoint Commissioners to go to the assigned place of exile—"who without being responsible for his custody will assure themselves of his presence". France was also invited to send a Commissioner, and some months later the appointed representatives went to St. Helena with Sir Pulteney Malcolm in the *Newcastle*.

Napoleon sailed to the island on board the *Northumberland* with Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who was entrusted with the naval command of the station and also with the charge of the ex-Emperor; they arrived on October 15, 1815. At that time Colonel Wilks was Governor of St. Helena under the East India Company, but in the following April Sir Hudson Lowe succeeded him as Governor, and at the same time relieved Sir George Cockburn of his charge. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, having succeeded to the naval command, reached St. Helena with his wife in June, 1816.

Two Acts relating to the custody of Napoleon were passed by the English Parliament on April 11,

1816, authorizing his detention, defining the conditions of his captivity, and laying down that the person appointed as his guardian was to use all necessary ways and means to prevent rescue or escape.

In his youth Napoleon once said to his first love, Desirée Clary, "I shall perhaps flash like a meteor across the sky, and only my passage be remembered." But it was as a world power rather than a fleeting portent that he regarded himself and his destiny in after years—when the building up of a dynasty and the conquest of the East became the goals of this "solitary man driven forward by the impetus of his own personality". During the exile at St. Helena, he had still a preoccupation and an aim; that of making his own legend for posterity, "Words cost nothing", he had once remarked; but none knew better how much could be achieved by them, and words, spoken or written, were his tools and weapons in that last campaign directed against the English Government, the Bourbons, and the Legitimists of Europe—though having the Governor as the immediate objective of his detestation and attack.

It is evident that the Admiral tried to keep their discussions to less contentious subjects; to Bonaparte's memories of his adventurous past rather than his present grievances—but without much success, for the Emperor's saying, "I command, or else I hold my peace", was merely rhetorical. Sir Pulteney seems to have refrained,

either through native caution or with a kindlier motive, from speaking of matters which could only increase the exile's sense of bitterness ; for instance, of his own glimpses of Paris at the end of July 1815. There he had met his brother John, on furlough from India, where he had served with "Colonel Arthur Wellesley" in earlier days, and acted as private secretary and right-hand man to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley. John Malcolm went to Paris at the Duke's suggestion, visiting the field of Waterloo and Brussels, then "little more than a great hospital for the wounded, on the way". He was received as an old friend and comrade by Wellington—the chief centre of attraction in the crowded capital, where travellers flocked to behold the wonderful spectacle provided by the Allied Armies, Emperors and Kings, famous statesmen, and a host of other celebrities.

The occupied city presented a scene of strange contrasts. On the surface the Parisians seemed filled with relief and gaiety, ready to pay homage to their conquerors. One grand military review succeeded another ; Talma, who had withdrawn from the stage for a time after Bonaparte's resignation, reappeared at the Théâtre Français ; dinner at the Duke of Wellington's was followed by Grassini's music, or by a visit to the Opera, where a new ballet, called "*L'Heureux Retour*" and written for the occasion, was performed with the significant additions of a party of Highlanders dancing reels, and "two sulky fellows

of the Horse Guards who had been wounded at Waterloo," and came on wearing Napoleon's badges, being finally persuaded to exchange them for the white ribbon. In all these experiences the Malcolms shared, often accompanied by Sir Walter Scott; and on July 27th, near the palace of the Tuileries, Sir John saw the arrival of the Duchesse d'Angoulême from England, "in excellent spirits". He wrote in his journal afterwards: "The joy which the people of this capital display makes me melancholy. I continue to think of what has past. They seem satisfied with the present, and are wiser."

But he soon discovered that, while "all minds were unsettled" by the recent débâcle, there were still Parisians who remained devoted to their late Emperor. When Sir John visited the Musée Royal des Monuments Français, some workmen were removing the statue of Napoleon's brother, the ex-King of Spain; and the sight moved his guide to say, "See what they are doing. They are wrong. The people can't bear this. Bonaparte has twenty voices for every one that is given to a Bourbon. Could you but have marked the different manner in which he and the king were received, you would have seen the difference between a heart and a tongue. You English", he concluded with great emphasis, "possess the greatest man that ever existed in the world, and there is nothing you may not attain if you play your cards well."

Without accepting that ardent Bonapartist's

estimate, it must be admitted that the immediate necessities of the situation, and Napoleon's long dominance in Europe, prevented the English Government from showing that leniency to a defeated enemy which, we can now see, would have become them. But the responsibility laid on them for his guardianship was no light one; for the other Powers were already distrustful on the score of England's sympathy with Napoleon and inclination to treat him generously. If they had yielded to his demand to be kept in England, a close captivity would have been unavoidable, and his presence a constant source of danger to both English and French Governments.

The following Diary gives some indirect evidence on a point used by Herr Ludwig, in his dramatic biography of Napoleon, as a grave indictment against the British Ministers of State in 1815. He asserts that the climate of St. Helena was "deadly"; that Longwood was "the place selected by England as the one in which the sick foe can most certainly be killed"; and his final chapters assume positively that the design was successful. It is perhaps a proof to the contrary that all the complaints made to the Malcolms concerned the isolation of the island, and the lack of state and comfort at Longwood—not that it was a fever-stricken spot where "no one reaches the age of sixty, and very few live to be fifty", as Ludwig declares. The climate apparently needed no defence then; and I have recently seen St. Helena described as a beautiful island, specially



suitable for "a delicate person", and having a "glorious climate" with no extremes.

The whole subject of Ludwig's histrionic and most misleading version of the exile has been dealt with lately by Sir Frederick Maugham, in an article on "Napoleon and St. Helena: A German Calumny", published in the *London Mercury* of January 1929. The writer has collected the fullest evidence to refute an accusation which is both false and mischievous. He quotes from a contemporary, *History of the Island of St. Helena*, published in 1808, and written by T. H. Brooks, Secretary to the Government of St. Helena (East India Company), who had lived there for fifteen years, with access to all the official records. "His work is full of praise of the island, its beauty, its fertility, and above all its climate," which, according to this authority, "seems to be peculiarly adapted to the constitutions of Europeans, of whom many have resided here for a long series of years without suffering any malady." Sir Frederick Maugham's second English authority on this question, Major-General Beatson, had been Governor of the island for five years, and published (1816) *Tracts Relative to the Island of St. Helena*, in which he claimed that its climate "is perhaps the mildest and most salubrious in the world". The Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) visited St. Helena in 1805, and wrote at the time: "The interior of the island is beautiful, and the climate apparently the most healthy I have ever lived in."

But Ludwig, and those carried away by his representations, may regard any English statement about the island as suspect—even the one made seven years before Napoleon's detention there. Sir Frederick Maugham therefore points out that Ludwig might, if he had sought the truth, have consulted French authorities; and he quotes writers in *La Grande Encyclopédie* (published about 1840) and in *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* (vol. xiii, 1888), who describe St. Helena in equally favourable terms. Comparative statistics are also given, and are still more conclusive; the death-rate at St. Helena being remarkably low.

Ludwig's book revives the old charges against Sir Hudson Lowe, breathing fresh virulence into them, although the serious ones have long been disproved. The Diary gives no support to those, but shows that the Admiral found the Governor uncongenial and disapproved his methods. It is well known that the two men were at variance; and their differences were doubtless caused or fomented by the intrigues and faction centred round Longwood, and to misrepresentations made to Lowe, of which the Admiral was unaware at the time. He was more liberal-minded than the Governor, and not disposed to make Napoleon's lot more irksome than was necessary; but he recognized that, while his own responsibility was limited to his command of the sea surrounding St. Helena, and gave him no anxiety, Sir Hudson Lowe's task was a far more onerous one.

As Napoleon would not receive any of the Commissioners in their official capacity, and had quarrelled openly with the Governor, it was not surprising that Sir Pulteney Malcolm, the only visitor welcomed at Longwood, was presently suspected of being hoodwinked by Napoleon, and allowing himself to be used as a tool against Lowe. From the Diary it appears that there was no ground for this idea; and that the Admiral never failed to uphold the Governor's authority and his good intentions, when in conversation with Bonaparte. Nor is there any sign that Sir Pulteney came under the spell of that powerful personality. In his later years he used to say that of the three great commanders he had known personally—Nelson, Wellington, and Napoleon—it was Nelson, the one under whom he had served, who was by far the most lovable.

. . . . .

One more link with St. Helena comes to me from the past. Rather over a century ago my grandmother, then a child of two or three years old, was brought home from Bombay, and the ship, as was usual on that six months' voyage, stopped at the island. The passengers and crew went on shore to visit Napoleon's grave under the willow-trees. As they stood there, the ship's captain picked up the little girl, lifted her over the railing, and stood her on the tomb, saying, "There, Missie—now you will always be able to say that you set your foot on the tyrant!"

Tyrant or Plutarchian hero; one whose name would be a "terror to posterity and to sensitive patriots," as Lucien had foretold in his youth, or the idol of his soldiers; a monster of egoism or the martyr of his own irresistible genius—in these, and countless other aspects, Napoleon Bonaparte has been drawn. Yet none can claim to have made the final study of that mysterious figure which still holds the imagination of mankind.

MURIEL KENT

## DIARY

SIR GEORGE COCKBURN, not intending to take leave of Bonaparte on his departure from St. Helena, could not introduce Admiral Malcolm, but recommended him to apply himself for an interview, if he wished to be well received, as it was understood that Bonaparte had taken a dislike to Sir Hudson Lowe. But this, the Admiral conceived, would be incorrect, and therefore requested the Governor to introduce him; who accordingly wrote to General Bertrand of their intention of coming next day, and received an answer that the Emperor would be glad to see them. Bonaparte tenaciously keeps that title; and as he particularly dislikes to be called General, Sir Hudson, with a wish to be civil, avoids naming him as much as possible.

*June 20th*

At two o'clock Admiral Malcolm accompanied Sir Hudson to Longwood. Bonaparte received them with much civility. He spoke to the Admiral of his passage; asked



if the *Newcastle* was not the same sort of ship as the *Egyptienne* which he had built; if the Admiral thought her a good ship; said that his officers had said that the *Egyptienne* cost as much as a ship-of-the-line, and was not near so useful. In this the Admiral acquiesced. He then spoke of different English admirals. To Sir Hudson he also spoke cordially, who afterwards expressed himself pleased with the interview, and hoped that it would lead to a better understanding. At their last meeting there had been considerable asperity in their conversation. The Admiral requested permission to introduce some of his officers, and presented Captains Meynel of the *Newcastle*, and Cochrane of the *Orontes*, also Mr. Irving, his secretary, and Mr. Wright, his flag-lieutenant. On naming the latter, it was remarked he looked at him with more attention than at any of the others, and again asked his name, and who he was. Sir Hudson then presented Colonel Wynyard.<sup>1</sup> He inquired in what affair he had

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wynyard was Military Secretary. The Ionian Islands, which had been constituted a republic

been wounded; on his replying St. Maura, he said it was not worth while to have been wounded on such a trifling occasion. He asked how was Mrs. Wynyard, and then made a joke on the Colonel's keeping her at home. (Mrs. Wynyard had been confined by illness since her arrival.) They were with him about half an hour. The Admiral described him taller and not so fat as from his pictures he expected, with an Italian expression of countenance, which he could imagine very different at times according to the humour of the man; his manner plain and agreeable. Before they left Longwood, Sir Hudson informed Count Bertrand, in presence of the Admiral, that the Commissioners from Austria, Russia, and France had arrived in consequence of the Treaty of Paris, and that they were desirous to be

by the Peace of Amiens in 1802, were occupied by Russia in 1804, and ceded to France at Tilsit in 1807. In the autumn of 1809, a British force under General Oswald captured certain of the islands, but Santa Maura remained in the hands of the French. In March 1810, General Oswald landed in Santa Maura, and stormed the principal entrenchments. A capitulation followed in a few days.

introduced at Longwood. Count Bertrand inquired if they had any letter or message to the Emperor. "None," Sir Hudson replied; "their business at St. Helena is merely to ascertain that General Bonaparte is alive." Bertrand said he would inform the Emperor and send an answer, which, however, was not done until the 23rd of August, when Count Montholon wrote a letter to Sir Hudson by order of Bonaparte.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter is inserted in the Diary, but it has been so often printed and is so well known that it has been thought better to omit it. The immediate occasion of the writing of the letter was the communication to Napoleon of the Convention of the 2nd of August, 1815, and the arrival of the Commissioners. In it Napoleon protested against the Convention; that he was not the prisoner even of England, and in no sense in the power of the other parties to it. He referred to the obligations which the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia were under to him. He protested against his confinement on St. Helena; against his being denied the title of Emperor, and addressed as General; against the contents of the Acts of the British Parliament; against the restrictions placed upon his correspondence by letter and upon communication with the people of the island; and generally against the mode in which Sir Hudson Lowe exercised his authority.

*June 25th*

Lady Malcolm accompanied the Admiral to Longwood. They rode from Plantation House to Hutt's Gate, the residence of Marshal Bertrand, where they found Bonaparte's carriage (an old barouche of Colonel Wilks') waiting for Lady Malcolm, who accompanied Madame Bertrand to Longwood. The Admiral rode with Count Bertrand. The horses went at a gallop; two of Bonaparte's former postilions drove. Near the gate the horses took fright, and narrowly escaped overturning the carriage into the Devil's Punch Bowl, a deep ravine. Madame Bertrand is an elegant, pleasing woman; she spoke to Lady Malcolm of the disagreeableness of their situation, the inconvenience of St. Helena, without roads to make intercourse possible, even if they could have society. She said that hers had been the gayest house in Paris—"What a contrast to this frightful solitude"; and added, she hoped they would go to England in October; the months she had passed at St. Helena were like years. Lady Malcolm expressed

a sort of an alarm at the idea of seeing the man whose deeds for twenty years had filled Europe. Madame Bertrand bade her not be afraid; the Emperor was so good—was so kind. Report, however, said that she had not found him so very kind; and that, displeased at her frequent intercourse with the English, he had forbid her coming to Longwood without express permission; he made her husband, as Grand Marshal of the Palace, write the order. On Easter Sunday the prohibition was taken off. Be this as it may, neither she nor her husband ever mentioned Bonaparte's name but with respect and esteem. Bertrand is a melancholy man, but a kind husband and father. Had he not authorized the Duc de Fitz James to tender his adhesion to Louis, his conduct would have been irreproachable. He does not give the idea of a man of talents.

On their arrival they were shown into an outer room, where Lady Malcolm was introduced to Count Montholon, Count Las Cases, his son, and General Gourgaud. The door of the adjoining room was opened, and Count Bertrand requested the party to walk in.



Bonaparte said something to each, and then addressed himself to Lady Malcolm, saying he had heard that she had been sick on the passage—was it her first voyage?—how did she amuse herself?—did she embroider? Bonaparte speaks thick, and quick, and as Lady Malcolm is but an indifferent French scholar, she did not understand all his words. However, they were at no loss, as Madame Bertrand and Count Las Cases explained. He seated himself on the sofa, and desired Lady Malcolm to sit beside him, and on perceiving that the Admiral had placed a chair for Madame Bertrand, he desired all to be seated. He talked again to the Admiral of different English admirals, asked the age of St. Vincent, and if he had ever had the gout—if it was not a complaint to which sea officers were very subject? He then observed to Lady Malcolm that Lord Keith was her relation; he asked how he did, his age, etc. On his inquiring the news when we left Europe, the Admiral answered, people talked of the reduction of armies to the peace establishments; in England of the repeal of the income tax.

Bonaparte said that a proof to him of its being a good and productive tax was, that almost every person complained of it, which showed that they all paid. The Admiral fully acquiesced, saying he was one of the few admirers of that unpopular measure, and that we should again resort to it. Bonaparte then expressed his surprise, with a satirical expression of countenance, at finding slaves on an island so long in possession of the English, and belonging to so rich a Company,<sup>1</sup> to which we could not reply, feeling it was a disgrace. On asking Lady Malcolm how she liked St. Helena, she replied she was a Scotch woman, and admired hills. "If you are Scotch," said he, "you must know Ossian's poems." She answered, yes, but, like him, she only knew them in their translation. He said he admired them very much, particularly Durthula, and inquired if the controversy about their authenticity was decided; and whether Macpherson had really written them. He laughed on her replying with quickness, that Macpherson

<sup>1</sup> Down to 1833 St. Helena formed part of the territories of the East India Company.

was not capable of writing them. She then told him the Highland Society had done everything possible to investigate the subject, and had proved their authenticity beyond a doubt—they had also published several beautiful little poems, translated from the Gaelic, not in Macpherson's collection. She asked him if he had read the poems in a French translation. He said there were two, he had them both, but they were not good. The Italian was excellent, beautiful. She said that they had been more admired on the Continent than in England. He exclaimed with energy: "It was I—I made them the fashion. I have been even accused of having my head filled with Ossian's clouds." Lady Malcolm complimented him on his taste. He then said laughing, "but Fingal was an Irishman". The Admiral replied that Lady Malcolm would take that worse than saying that Macpherson had written the poems. He again laughed, and asked what part of Scotland they had inhabited. She replied the western islands, and Lochaber, where there were many places called by the names

mentioned in Ossian. He said many of the names resembled Italian, such as Malvina, Comala, Hidula, and several others he repeated. He asked her if she hunted (this was a usual question to English ladies), and a variety of other questions, then bowed and took leave.

The following is Lady Malcolm's idea of his figure: His hair of a brown-black, thin on the forehead, cropped, but not thin in the neck, and rather a dirty look; light blue or grey eyes; a capacious forehead; high nose; short upper lip; good white even teeth, but small (he rarely showed them); round chin; the lower part of his face very full; pale complexion; particularly short neck. Otherwise his figure appeared well proportioned, but had become too fat; a thick, short hand with taper fingers and beautiful nails, and a well-shaped leg and foot. He was dressed in an old threadbare green coat, with green velvet collar and cuffs; silver buttons with a beast engraven upon them, his *habit de chasse* (it was buttoned close at the neck); a silver star of the Legion of Honour; white waistcoat and breeches;

white silk stockings; and shoes with oval gold buckles. She was struck with the kindness of his expression, so contrary to the fierceness she had expected. She saw no trace of great ability; his countenance seemed rather to indicate goodness; at a second interview she remarked that it would change with his humour. The Admiral allowed that his manners were pleasing, but would not agree that they were in the least graceful. He takes coffee early, has his *déjeuner à la fourchette* at eleven, spends his mornings in composing history, which he dictates whilst walking about his room; between two and three o'clock he dresses, then receives visits or takes exercise. On his first coming to the island he rode on horseback, but has not done so since our arrival; now he usually walks or goes in his carriage. At eight o'clock he dines, reads after dinner, and goes to bed about eleven. From a habit acquired in the wars (when he rose in the night to receive reports from his outposts) he frequently gets up after he has been a short time in bed, and reads for an hour or two; this gave rise to

reports of his walking about all night unable to sleep. General Bertrand said that it was his habit, when in Paris, to transact business in the night after he had had his first sleep.

*July 4th*

The Admiral had requested Bonaparte, through General Bertrand, to permit him to present his officers. This was the day appointed. The Admiral was first admitted, and held a conversation of two hours with him; after the usual compliments he began on the naval events of the war.

*Trafalgar.*—He said he had heard Lord Nelson's mode of attack criticized. The Admiral replied, not by good judges, that it was impossible to lay down rules for conducting naval actions, particularly when near the shore and in variable winds; had Lord Nelson met a French fleet equal to his own in the open sea, his arrangement would have been very different; but considering every circumstance, nothing could be better than his mode of bringing the combined fleet to action. The Admiral said he considered Lord Nelson the greatest sea officer



who had ever appeared; in which commendation Bonaparte agreed, and then said that in many instances the French had well defended the honour of their flag, but had never done anything very brilliant at sea—they had *tactique*, so had the Prussians on land; but with their Potsdam manœuvres it was incredible how easily he won the battle of Jena.

*Basque Roads*.—Bonaparte considered that his admiral had not made good arrangements to resist the attack by fire-ships. The Admiral assented, as also to his remark that we might have done more.<sup>1</sup>

*Toulon Fleet*.—Bonaparte gave orders for them to be under sail daily, to stand towards the English, but not to risk a battle.<sup>2</sup> At first, by their awkwardness, it

<sup>1</sup> Lord Cochrane's brilliant attack with fire-ships upon the French fleet in the Basque Roads took place on the 11th of April, 1809. Much of the fruits of his success were lost by the want of vigour with which the attack was followed up by the British fleet. The angry controversies to which those events gave rise, and the courts-martial which followed can be read in the histories of the time.

<sup>2</sup> An English reader finding mention of the Toulon fleet naturally thinks of the days before Trafalgar.

cost him much money for repairs, but at last they became so expert, an accident seldom happened. He had appointed Admiral Lallemand to the command, because he was a rough fellow, who would oblige them all to do their duties, and to remain on board their ships. For three years they seldom had leave to come on shore. This the Admiral knew to be the fact.

*Invasion.*—Bonaparte's plan was, that his fleet should have put to sea, steered towards the West Indies; the English would have followed; it was to turn on its passage, and come up Channel, which would have given him, for a time, the superiority at sea; and then, under the protection of his fleet, landed his army. His gun-boats were only for deception. The Admiral pointed out the great difficulties. He allowed the danger to be great, but the object was worth the risk.

*Battle of Waterloo.*—Bonaparte said: "Wellington ought to have retreated, and not

But Napoleon seems here to refer to a later period, in and after 1808, when Admiral Lallemand served as Rear-Admiral in the Toulon fleet, Admiral Ganteaume being in chief command.

fought that battle, for had he lost it, I should have established myself in France; but had I been obliged to follow the English and Prussians, in the end I must have been beaten by the junction of the allied armies. Wellington risked too much, for by the rules of war I should have gained the battle. I calculated that General Grouchy would have kept the Prussians in check till I beat the English; and he ought to have done so." The Admiral replied: "You know it is dangerous to retreat, when opinion of the relative force of armies is the great point. Lord Wellington must have apprehended, if he permitted you to cross the frontier, the Belgians would have joined you. Of course he calculated on being joined by the Prussians, and the result proved his judgment correct." Bonaparte said two causes lost him the battle—Grouchy's failing in checking the Prussians, and his great charge of cavalry being made half an hour too soon, but they performed nobly. The Admiral asked why he did not attempt to enter Belgium, by attacking the right of the English, and cutting them off from the sea.

Bonaparte replied, he took into consideration the character of the two generals; one was an hussar, the other an officer of method, who would not move his army without reflection, nor without his supplies. If he had first attacked the English, the Prussians would have been on him at full gallop; and as everything depended on the first onset, he thought it best to begin with the Prussians, believing the English would be somewhat slower, particularly as their cavalry was at some distance from the point of attack. He said all his troops fought well; some few officers were traitors,<sup>1</sup> but not a single soldier. The Admiral answered, that we had done full justice to their valour, particularly the cuirassiers. Bonaparte said, if he had won the battle, there would have been a change of ministers in England, and they would have made peace with him. The Admiral said he did not think so; because whatever men were ministers they generally acted the same; we were not to judge of them by their railing when in opposition. Bonaparte said he believed that to be the

<sup>1</sup> General Bourmont conspicuously so.

case, for he remembered to have heard a story of a leader of opposition making a violent speech when a change of ministry was expected. The minister called out, "Take care what you say, you may be in the majority to-morrow." He spoke in praise of the manner in which the peerage of England is constituted, and considered them a very superior set of men to the mass of the old French nobility.

*The Bourbons.*—Bonaparte said that they would never tranquillize France. The Admiral asked what line they ought to have pursued in order to have established their power. "On their first return the King ought to have addressed the French people as follows—'You have had a great revolution, during which great atrocities have been committed, but the nation has done great things. You appointed a man your emperor; he did great things for France, and added to her glory. Circumstances have occasioned you to offer me the crown. I accept it on the terms you propose. Changes have taken place that render it neither desirable nor possible that things

should return to their original state, when my family reigned over you. Therefore, as you have thought proper to create a fourth dynasty, I shall now consider myself as the beginner of the fifth.' Had he done this, I must have ended my days at Elba, or wherever else it was thought proper. Opinion is everything in France. The Bourbons are considered as the heads of the old feudal system, and for ages those that have lost their lands and privileges will hate the families that possess them. Is it not so this day in Ireland? It would have been better for France, since they consider themselves kings on the old plan, to give back all the estates at once, for, as it is, they sit on a smothered volcano, and no person is content. I have written," said he, "on this subject, and will show it you one of these days. Henry the Fourth was undoubtedly the greatest man that ever sat on the throne of France. When he conquered the armies of the League, and had them at his feet, he could not reign till he obtained the opinion of the people by changing his religion, and even then lost his life by a



wretch not thinking him sincere." The Admiral said the idea of beginning a fifth dynasty was new to him, and he thought it might have had an effect, but now it was too late. Bonaparte said almost all France was for him when he returned from Elba. The Admiral allowed that the military were, but not the others, for they considered the return of the Bourbons as the return of peace, whilst he was considered as being fond of war. Bonaparte smiled, and said the English should not have made war on him on his return from Elba; that he offered every concession, and that all depended on England. The Admiral asked why he did not consent to the terms offered at Chatillon.<sup>1</sup> His reply was singular. "There are certain opinions founded on circumstances, that men who act such a part as mine keep to; that was the reason why I would not give up Belgium, which I would have done before." He added, "My father-in-law and I corresponded on the subject." The Admiral did not understand his meaning. Bonaparte said that it was bad policy

<sup>1</sup> February 1814.

laying France under contributions, it would have been better to have taken territory at once; it would have caused a strong sensation at first, but would have been forgotten. France could not pay her present demands; as yet there was no revenue from commerce. Europe was in a very unsettled state. "Prussia wishes for a constitution, so does Italy."

The Admiral asked when was the best time for the English to have made peace with him. Bonaparte replied: "When Lord Lauderdale was at Paris; if Mr. Fox had lived it would have been accomplished."<sup>1</sup> The Admiral asked if his death made any change in the terms proposed. He said, no, but events occurred that he would have viewed differently from his successors. The Admiral observed that he left Lord Lauder-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grenville's Ministry, with Fox in charge of foreign affairs, came into office in February 1806. Negotiations for peace with France were opened first informally, then formally. In August Lord Lauderdale went to Paris to represent England jointly with Lord Yarmouth. The negotiations were broken off in October, a few days after Napoleon had left Paris for the campaign of Jena. Fox had died on the 13th of September.

dale at Paris, and went to make war on the Prussians. He laughed and said there was no time to lose. During this conversation, Bonaparte was in great good humour, and frequently laughed loud. They stood leaning on a window. The Admiral frequently differed from him in opinion, and remarked, that when he said anything he did not like, or was not prepared with an answer, he changed the subject. The officers remained in the outer room, conversing with his suite, particularly with Count Las Cases, who, when he heard Bonaparte laugh, observed, "The Emperor was very much pleased when he laughed so heartily." When they were admitted, he bowed to each, and remarked they were all young men. He asked if any had been wounded, and on being answered that Lieutenant Payne had at Copenhagen, he said, "You had warm work there for the time it lasted." After a few more questions he took leave.

*July 25th*

The Admiral went to Longwood, and on being admitted, gave Bonaparte some French

papers, which he had received by the *Griffon*. Bonaparte inquired the news. The Admiral said the only points he had observed, were the prorogation of the Chambers, and an insurrection at Grenoble; that it was reported that one of the causes of the prorogation was the fear that they would not consent to the grant of forty-six millions of livres to the clergy. Bonaparte said so great a sum could not be raised for them, the French were not a religious nation, and that he found much difficulty in procuring twelve millions for that purpose. As for trifling insurrections, they always strengthened an unsettled Government. The French were *trop légers et trop vifs* to conduct conspiracies, but *quelque beau matin* they would spontaneously rise, perhaps from an expression on some particular subject—something would happen that would cause a movement; they were always guided by the impulse of the moment; and he again repeated that the Bourbons were seated on a volcano.

Bonaparte then began on his grievances. He expressed his dislike of Sir Hudson's

manners. This dislike the Admiral thinks took its origin in his having flattered himself that Sir Hudson had instructions to change the line of conduct observed towards him by Sir George, and on finding that was not the case, this made him view the former in an unfavourable light, whose peculiar manners were not calculated to remove the impression. The following were some of his expressions: "He has not the character of an Englishman. He is a Prussian soldier. He is clever and cunning. He writes well, and will make good statements to the Government." He added that he felt more angry in being placed under the charge of such a man, than in having been sent to such a vile place as St. Helena. "His manners are so displeasing to me, that if he were to come to tell me that a frigate was ready to take me to France, and I was at liberty to go where I pleased, he could not give me pleasure." The Admiral endeavoured to persuade him that it was only manner, and that he knew Sir Hudson was very desirous of doing everything in his power to render him comfortable. Bonaparte allowed that

it was manner more than matter, that so frequently vexed him. He instanced some things that had been done by way of civility, but the manner prevented them being received as such. "In short, he cannot please me. Call it *enfantillage*, or what you will, so it is!" He said that he had had cause to be dissatisfied with Sir George Cockburn, but it was always on great points. "He never vexed me with trifles. It is not I that feel, it is those with me." He told some stories of their not being permitted to buy trifling articles. He said he thought he ought to have the privilege of riding over the island, keeping on the hills. The Admiral replied so he had, but accompanied by an English officer. "That is what I complain of; this officer might say I rode too fast, or too slow, or it was time to go home, which is what I will not submit to." He complained that all letters even of common civility were obliged to be sent open to the Governor. The Admiral replied, that he believed when notes were allowed to be sent to the inhabitants, some of his suite abused the indulgence. He then said if the old



King was well, he would be better treated—that the Regent was in the hands of his ministry, and could only act as they willed. Bonaparte said they had done some clever things, but he was told they were not men of talents. The Admiral said he thought they possessed good sense, which was better than great talents. Bonaparte asked the Admiral if he thought he would be kept at St. Helena for ever. The Admiral replied “Yes,” and recommended to him to endeavour to be content with his situation. On which he said, men had escaped from dungeons, where they had been tied hand and foot. The Admiral instanced Baron Trenck, but, said he (Bonaparte): “It is only a bird that can escape from hence. Why all these guards on the tops of the hills?—if the coast was guarded, it would be enough. I can see that he is no general; indeed he never commanded anything but Corsican deserters.”<sup>1</sup> The Admiral assured him of

<sup>1</sup> This taunt, so often repeated by Napoleon, refers to the fact that a number of refugees from Corsica were formed into a company under the name of the Corsican Rangers, and were under Lowe’s command from 1800 till they were disbanded after the Peace

the Governor's desire to comply with his wishes, as far as was consistent with his duty, and recommended to him to state his wishes to Sir Hudson. He said we ought to have confined him in England; he would have liked the Tower or any prison better than St. Helena; he could have taken exercise on the top of his prison, and had access to the books to which he wished to refer in writing his history. "But why choose this vile island? I thought there was nothing I could hate so much, and now I do, its Governor." The Admiral said that any books he required would be sent to him; and he supposed this island was chosen as the most secure, and at the same time the most agreeable State prison that could be devised. He then enumerated its advantages, none of which Bonaparte would allow, but said he would be dead in three years. The Admiral said he hoped not, as he had before told him that it would require more time than that to finish his history.

of Amiens; and that he subsequently commanded a battalion similarly composed and known as the Royal Corsican Rangers.

He laughed, and then talked of the Commissioners. He said he would not see them in their public capacities, but if they chose to see him as other individuals he would have no objection. "If I saw them as Commissioners, it would be acknowledging that I was a prisoner to their masters, which I am not." He then broke out into invectives against the two Emperors, and said he had letters from them that would fill volumes, and one of these days the world should see them. "What could I say to the Austrian Commissioner, who comes from my father-in-law without a kind word, or even to say my son, his grandson, is alive, from a man who pressed me to marry his daughter, and to whom I twice restored his kingdom? And how am I to address the Russian, whose Emperor has been at my feet, and who called me his best friend? I am less embarrassed with the Frenchman. Louis owes me nothing. But it does not signify seeing them; why were they sent?" The Admiral replied, that he thought our Government would have been as well pleased had they remained

at home; but as the Convention at Paris gave them permission, the English Government could not object. Bonaparte said it was good policy in the English Government forming that Convention, as it placed the odium of detaining him a prisoner in St. Helena, when he had delivered himself up to the English, on the whole allied powers. He always returned to his grievances. The Admiral said he was confident that they would be obviated by a direct communication with Sir Hudson, instead of through a third person, who often did not deliver distinctly what had been said. Although he acquiesced in some measure, the Admiral saw that he was determined to keep up as long as he could, within his own house, the state of an emperor, and that he was not displeased to have grievances. In speaking of the condemnation of Bertrand, Bonaparte said it was irritating without any purpose, for by the laws of France he must be tried again before the sentence could be executed; that Bertrand had not sworn allegiance to Louis. The Admiral mentioned his letter to the Duc de Fitz James. Bonaparte said

he had offered to take the oaths, but had not done so. The Bourbons had not done enough at first, or too much at present, the prisons were now full. Bonaparte took everything in good part that the Admiral said. He was four hours with him; they walked all the time in the drawing-room with their hats under their arms. In the course of conversation Bonaparte said he was sorry he had not seen Lady Loudoun;<sup>1</sup> if he had known she had been within his bounds he would have gone and met her, but he could not dine at Plantation House. He must have gone like a prisoner, as it was out of his limits, and having given him the rank of General, Bertrand had precedence. The Admiral replied, of course he would have been considered as the first personage. Bonaparte said he wondered how a woman of Lady Loudoun's character could pass Madame Bertrand's door without calling,—her country-woman,<sup>2</sup> a lady of

<sup>1</sup> The Countess of Loudoun, in her own right, was the wife of the first Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General of India from 1813 to 1823.

<sup>2</sup> Madame Bertrand was the daughter of General Arthur Dillon, an Irish officer, who served in the

rank, and in misfortune. He said Lady Lowe had not shown her any attention. The Admiral replied, Lady Lowe's situation prevented her paying any visits. "That is nonsense; when my mother was with child of me, she ran over all the Corsican mountains." There was a report that the Emperor of Austria was to marry the Princess of Saxony; Bonaparte said he had formerly prevented him marrying her because it did not suit the policy of France, and laughed. He was certain that the Emperor would not remain long unmarried—he was fond of women, and so moral that he never made love to any other but his wife.

*August 10th*

Lady Malcolm accompanied the Admiral; Bonaparte was driving in his carriage with Madame Montholon. They met him near the stables. As soon as he observed them, he got out and came towards them. After the common salutations, he asked Lady

French Army, both under the Monarchy and in the wars of the earlier revolutionary period. He was guillotined in 1794.



Malcolm if she would like a drive, to which she answered in the affirmative. He handed Lady Malcolm in, then got in himself, and called to Madame Montholon and the Admiral to follow. The barouche set off at a hand-gallop—General Gourgaud was on horseback—the drive round the Park, as Bonaparte called it, laughing. It was that space, about a mile in length, on the edge of the height that forms Fisher's valley, which is a steep, black, dreary-looking hollow.

Bonaparte, at one particularly desolate place, laughing, asked Lady Malcolm if Ossian's country was like that. The drive was on turf, and the gum-wood trees grew so thick that, going so fast, it did not seem quite safe; but the two Paris postilions were excellent. The conversation was chiefly respecting the island. The Admiral had rowed round it the day before. On returning to the house, Bonaparte pointed to the tent that had been fixed at the request of the Governor by the seamen of the *Newcastle*. The Admiral hoped it was to his liking. He replied it was perfect, and

made some remark on English seamen. The Admiral said they were an extraordinary set of men. Bonaparte answered, "They are very good men, but you are too severe with them." The Admiral replied, the cause of the strictness was owing to their proneness to get drunk; very seldom was there occasion for punishment for any other crime, and indeed their allowance of spirits was too great, and he hoped to see it reduced. When the carriage stopped, Bonaparte leaped out in a manner that showed he still retained his activity. He asked Lady Malcolm if she was fond of flowers. On her replying yes, he pointed to the brown border, in which there was not the least appearance of a plant, and said, "*Voilà* our garden." He then said to her: "Do you know Lord Kinnaird? Where he was? Was he a peer of Parliament? How many Scotch peers were not peers of Parliament?" which last question she could not answer. He appeared for a moment out of humour; but on her explaining the mode of electing the sixteen, and that numbers were British peers, he was well satisfied. Lady Malcolm

said how sorry her brother, Mr. Elphinstone, had been, when he stopped on his way from China, that he had not seen him; his health prevented his landing. "Was he your brother? He sent me some Chinese curiosities—some silks, a chess-board, etc. I have them in the house; I was sorry I did not see him—he did not stay long." Lady Malcolm then said, her family were under obligation to him for his kindness to her brother, who was wounded on the 17th of June at the battle of Waterloo, a captain of hussars. "Yes, he was brought to me; my surgeon said the wound was not dangerous." She replied, it had confined him a long time afterwards. During this conversation the Admiral was walking with Madame Montholon just behind. Whenever Bonaparte addressed any of his suite, they answered in the most submissive tone, particularly Las Cases. On approaching the door Bonaparte observed it was late, and we took leave.

*August 16th*

The Admiral rode to Longwood, and found Bonaparte's suite looking at Pro-

fessor Leslie's machine for making ice. Mr. Darling, the upholsterer, who understood the process, was making the experiments, which succeeded perfectly. Bonaparte joined, and was much pleased, and said it would have been invaluable in Egypt. He remarked it appeared so simple he was surprised it had not been invented sooner. He said he had encouraged the study of chemistry in France; that the English had some clever men in that science, but it was not so general a study. The Admiral mentioned Sir Humphry Davy, and Bonaparte observed he had seen him at Paris. From his questions Bonaparte did not appear to be himself a chemist, nor did he understand it. General Gourgaud seemed to be best informed on these subjects. A small thermometer was put into one of the freezing-cups, to show the changes of the temperature of the water, and became frozen; Bonaparte, endeavouring to put it out by force, broke it, and seeing his awkwardness, he exclaimed, laughing, "That is worthy of me". He then proposed to the Admiral to walk in the garden, and

began conversing about ships. He particularly inquired what was the least draught of water a ship-of-the-line could be lightened to, to cross a shoal, to get into a harbour. Then, reverting to his favourite topic, Egypt, he said, had Admiral Brueys taken his advice he would have saved his fleet by getting them into Alexandria; that Captain Barre, who then commanded a frigate, had told him that he had sounded the entrance, and informed the Admiral there was sufficient water. The Admiral observed that Captain Barre afterwards commanded the *Rivoli*, and had fought a gallant action, and was by us esteemed a good officer. Bonaparte said yes, and had not met with the reward he merited; that the brig that was with our ship had assisted in capturing the *Rivoli*, which the Admiral admitted. Bonaparte said he had built the *Rivoli* in the Gulf of Venice, in a place where there was so little water that she was obliged to be floated over the shoals on camels, such as the Dutch formerly used, but much improved by his engineer. There was an iron tank at Longwood for a reservoir, taken out of one of the

ships. Bonaparte asked how long they had been in use, and wondered he had never heard of them, for it appeared an excellent invention. The Admiral enumerated all their advantages. Bonaparte asked the Admiral what he conceived the best mode of arming ships-of-the-line. He replied: on their lower decks, thirty-two pounders; upper decks, twenty-four pounders; quarter-decks, thirty-two pounder carronades. To enable all ships to carry twenty-four pounders on the upper decks, the numbers should be reduced; large guns although fewer were preferable. Bonaparte said he had proposed, but his engineer would not agree, to have a three-decked ship all thirty-two pounders, but of different weights and sizes. The Admiral objected to the plan, as it so frequently occurred that the lower-deck ports could not be opened, then the long twenty-four pounders would have an advantage over the short thirty-twos. Bonaparte asked whether it was best to aim at the hull or rigging. The Admiral answered, the hull; for missing the hull, there was a chance of hitting the rigging or



masts. For one shot that went too low, ten went too high, and also when a shot struck the water, it generally rose again. They then spoke of the slave trade. Bonaparte asked what nations had given it up. He said the English ought to have made the Portuguese relinquish it entirely. The Admiral said in a given time they were to do so; in the meantime we seized their ships north of the line found trading in slaves, or any other ships conveying them to our colonies. The negroes were put on shore at Sierra Leone, where we had an establishment; we feed them for one year, then give them lands and implements of husbandry, to try to do for themselves. Bonaparte replied that was good, very good, for it might be the means of civilizing Africa, as they would by degrees spread into the interior. It was now sunset; Bonaparte desired his compliments to Madame, and they took leave.

On the 17th of August the Admiral received a note from Sir Hudson requesting he would accompany him to Longwood next day, to be present when he stated to

Bonaparte the impertinent conduct of Count Bertrand.

Sir Hudson had received orders to limit Bonaparte's expenses to £8,000 per annum. Aware, from the number of persons at Longwood, and the high price of everything at St. Helena, that it was impossible £8,000 per annum could meet the expense unless the style was entirely changed, for hitherto it had amounted to near £17,000, Sir Hudson resolved to allow £12,000 till he heard further from ministers. But in order that this sum should pay everything, it was necessary that various changes and reductions should take place; and that those changes and reductions might be made in the manner most agreeable to Bonaparte, Sir Hudson had gone to Longwood to speak to him on the subject; but Bonaparte declined seeing him, saying he was in the bath, and requested he would communicate to Bertrand anything he wished to say to him.

It is to be remarked that Bonaparte and Sir Hudson were at this time on very bad terms; Sir Hudson not having had an inter-

view with him for months, except with the Admiral, and at all their former interviews there had been disagreeable altercations.

According to Bonaparte's request, Sir Hudson rode to Hutt's Gate, the residence of Count Bertrand. The Count met him at the door of his house. Sir Hudson had the papers in his hand to explain the proposed arrangements; he told the Count what they were, and proposed entering on the subject. Count Bertrand abruptly took the papers, and said he would lay them before the Emperor; that the less communication, either verbally or in writing, Sir Hudson and himself had the better. Sir Hudson replied that he was perfectly of that opinion, and rode off.

Some time previous to this, in consequence of Madame Bertrand having attempted to send a sealed letter to the Marquis de Montchenu, by an inhabitant of the island, Sir Hudson had written to the Count to point out this impropriety. The Count returned a violent and improper answer, which of course met with a severe rebuke from Sir Hudson.

*August 18th*

The Admiral met Sir Hudson at Hutt's Gate, from whence they proceeded to Longwood. On their arrival they saw Bonaparte walking in front of the house with Madame de Montholon and Count Las Cases; he endeavoured to avoid them—Count Montholon came to them. Sir Hudson desired him to say to Bonaparte that he wished to speak to him. He returned to say that the Emperor waited for us. On joining, Bonaparte took little notice of Sir Hudson, but received the Admiral in his usual manner, and conversed with him for a few minutes on common subjects. Sir Hudson then addressed him nearly as follows: "I am sorry to importune you on any disagreeable subject, but the very improper conduct of Count Bertrand renders it indispensable. Having received instructions to limit the expenses at Longwood, I mentioned the subject to Counts Bertrand and Montholon; the latter fully met my wishes, but I was desirous to converse with yourself, that I might be enabled to make such

arrangements as would be most agreeable to you. I came here for that purpose, but was told that you were in the bath, and that you requested that I would communicate with Count Bertrand. In compliance with this request I waited on the Count, who received me in a very extraordinary manner; nevertheless I told him my business and put the necessary papers into his hands. He took them and said he would show them to the Emperor. I proposed to explain, when he abruptly replied: 'The less communication you and I have either verbally or in writing the better.' I replied the wish was reciprocal, and left him. Now I think the conduct of Count Bertrand to me, as Governor of this island, highly improper, and particularly so as I called on him in compliance with a request of the person he acknowledges his sovereign." There was silence for several minutes; they continued to walk to and fro, Bonaparte, apparently, meditating an answer. At length, addressing himself to the Admiral, he began: "Count Bertrand is a man well known, and esteemed in Europe;

he has been distinguished, and has commanded armies. He" (nodding at Sir Hudson) "treats him like a corporal. Madame Bertrand is a lady well born, who has been accustomed to the first place in society; he does not treat her with the regard that is her due; he stops her letters, and prevents her seeing those that wish to visit her, except under restrictions." Then, turning to Sir Hudson, he continued: "Since your arrival we have experienced nothing but vexations. Your instructions are the same as Sir George Cockburn's—he told me so—but you execute them with fifty times more rigour. He never vexed us with trifles. I had reason to be displeased with some of his proceedings, but we never conversed that we were not satisfied with each other; but there is no talking to you—you are quite untractable. You suspect everything and everybody. You are a Lieut.-General, but you do your duty like *un consigne*; you never commanded any men but Corsican deserters; you vex us hourly, by your little ways; you do not know how to conduct yourself towards men of honour,



your soul is too low. Why do you not treat us like prisoners of war? You treat us like Botany Bay convicts." Here he stopped. Sir Hudson with much coolness replied: "I have every desire to render your situation as agreeable as it is in my power, but you prevent me. General Bertrand has written to me that I render your situation dreadful (*affreuse*); he accuses me, as you do now, of abuse of power and injustice. I am the subject of a free government; I hold every species of tyranny and despotism in execration, and I will repel every attack upon my character on this point, as a calumny against a man who cannot be attacked with the arms of truth." Bonaparte said: "Il y a des gens qu'on honneur et qu'on déshonneur." Sir Hudson replied: "Je connois bien cette tactique, pour chercher se flétrir lorsque on ne peut pas se servir des autres armes." The Admiral said he knew that Sir Hudson was very desirous to show him (Bonaparte) every attention in his power, but they did not understand each other; he was certain there was much misrepresentation, by communi-

cations coming through a third person. Bonaparte turned to the Admiral, and said: "Do you know he has had the meanness to keep from me a book, because on its cover I was designated Emperor, and he has boasted of having done so." "I boast?" said Sir Hudson. "Yes," added Bonaparte; "Colonel Keating, late Governor of Bourbon, told me so." Sir Hudson replied that he knew the author of that book, and was certain he would approve of its not being delivered. "Permit me," said the Admiral, "to explain to you the story of the book. Sir Hudson showed it to me, and told me the author had desired him to give it, or not, as he thought proper. The book itself was of little consequence, but Sir Hudson is forbidden to give you the title of Emperor. I think he could not with propriety have sent it you, with the inscription that is on it." Bonaparte replied: "He has sent me letters addressed Emperor." "Yes," said Sir Hudson; "but they came through the Secretary of State's Office, and from your own relations, not Englishmen." Bonaparte continued: "He has also had the meanness

to speak of the contents of our letters that came open to him. My old mother, although I forbade her to write to me, wrote to say that she would come to St. Helena and die with me. This was told round the island." "Not by me," said Sir Hudson. "Yes, by you," rejoined Bonaparte; "Mr. Balcombe<sup>1</sup> mentioned it." The Admiral said he had never heard the circumstance, and he knew that Sir Hudson held sacred the contents of all letters that came open to him. Bonaparte mentioned other grievances, particularly not being permitted to write notes of civility to the people of the island, except through the Governor; "for example, suppose I wished to invite Lady Malcolm to dinner, and I put a piece of gallantry into my note, could a gentleman send this open to another for his inspection?—impossible. If I meet an officer of the 53rd regiment and am desirous to ask him to dinner, I cannot without obtaining his (Sir Hudson's) permission, for which there is not probably time." Sir Hudson interrupted him, by

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Balcombe was the purveyor. His daughter, Mrs. Abell, published her *Recollections of Napoleon*.

saying that he had refused to see the officers of the 66th regiment. "Yes," said Bonaparte, "because their Colonel had not called on Marshal Bertrand to make the request." Sir Hudson said he had written to the Count to say he wished to introduce them. Bonaparte replied with warmth: "I am an Emperor in my own circle, and will be so as long as I live; you may make my body prisoner, but my soul is free. Europe will hereafter judge of my treatment, and the shame of it will fall on the English nation; even the poor sentinels of the 53rd regiment weep at my unworthy treatment." He continued: "You ask me for money to pay for my living; I have none; but I have plenty of friends, who would send me whatever sum I required if I could write to them. Put me on rations if you please. I can dine with the officers of the 53rd regiment, and if not with them, with the soldiers." Sir Hudson said he had not sought the situation he now held, it was offered to him, and he would do his duty, and execute his instructions. Bonaparte replied: "If you were ordered to assassinate me, would you do so?" "No," answered Sir Hudson,

"I would not. My countrymen do not assassinate." Bonaparte went on: "I see by your arrangements that you are afraid I should escape; you take useless precautions. Why do you not tie me hand and foot? and then you will be tranquil. You are not a general, you are only a scribe of office. To-morrow you will receive a letter from me, which I hope may be known in all Europe."<sup>1</sup> Sir Hudson answered, that he should not have any objections, if all his proceedings were published in England and in every other country. Bonaparte recommenced his invectives; he said Sir G. Cockburn had permitted them to correspond with people in the island on points of civility. The Admiral said he believed the change had been made, or at least intended, by Sir George, improper use having been made of the indulgence. Bonaparte exclaimed: "The Governor tells you so, but it is false." Bonaparte then abused the English Government, and spoke of the blind hatred of Lord Bathurst towards him. "It has insulted me in sending a man like you

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the letter mentioned *ante*, p. 20, note.

to guard me; you are no Englishman." Sir Hudson replied, "That makes me laugh." "What, laugh, sir!" said Bonaparte, turning to Sir Hudson with a look of surprise. "Yes, sir," answered Sir Hudson; "I say what I think; I say it not only makes me laugh, but it excites my pity, to see how misinformed you are with respect to my character, and for the rudeness of your manners. I wish you good morning." Sir Hudson then quitted him abruptly without further ceremony. Bonaparte stopped his walk, apparently much surprised by this sudden retreat. The Admiral said, "I must also wish you good morning." Bonaparte returned his bow, and desired his compliments to Lady Malcolm. During this conversation Sir Hudson never for a moment lost his temper; Bonaparte frequently, particularly when he addressed Sir Hudson. They walked to and fro in the garden, and could not fail to be overheard by Count Las Cases, Madame Montholon, and Major Gorrequer,<sup>1</sup> who continued walking at a little distance.

<sup>1</sup> Aide-de-camp to Sir Hudson Lowe.



So soon as the Admiral and Sir Hudson were gone, Bonaparte as usual repeated all that he had said to his suite, and they told his speeches again to various people, so that in two days they were circulated amongst a great proportion of the island, whilst the knowledge of Sir Hudson's replies, which did him much credit, were confined to a very small number, who were prevented from circulating them, from the desire of the Governor that every transaction at Longwood should be secret. It is to be remarked that all that passes at Longwood is known. The servants have free access to the camp of the 53rd regiment, several of whom are soldiers; Cipriani, *le maître d'hôtel*, goes to the valley daily to purchase articles for the house, attended by a soldier, who does not speak his language. He is a Corsican, an intelligent, communicative man, loves his master, but hates all those about him. He entertains those he meets with anecdotes from Longwood, and in return takes home all he can hear. It is impossible it should be otherwise, and therefore it is best to suppose that everything is known. All rules,

regulations, restrictions, etc., should be public.

On the 23rd of August Sir Hudson received the letter that has since been published in the newspapers from Count Montholon.<sup>1</sup> He was very desirous to have it kept secret, and refused the Admiral a copy; not so those at Longwood: they read it in French and English to everyone that called, and offered copies, but none were taken, at which the Governor was justly displeased.

On the 28th of August Bonaparte directed Count Montholon to write to Sir Hudson that, while Count Bertrand was not permitted to grant passes, the Emperor desired the Governor would not give any, neither to officers, nor to the inhabitants, nor to passing strangers; for they rambled about the grounds and annoyed him. Sir Hudson enclosed the letter to the Admiral, and requested that he would not, for the present, grant any passes as he had done heretofore to the officers of the Navy. It is understood that Bonaparte wrote this letter under the influence of passion, and wished it re-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 20, note.

called, but pride would not permit him to say so.

The Admiral had no communication with Longwood from the 18th of August till the 21st of September, considering it proper to mark his disapprobation of Bonaparte's conduct to the Governor on that day. When the time drew near that he was to sail for the Cape, he thought it would be proper to pay him a visit of ceremony. On mentioning this to Sir Hudson, although he did not say that the Admiral ought not to go, yet he showed by his manner that he did not altogether approve. They argued the matter amicably. The Admiral urged that although Bonaparte had used unjustifiable language, both as to the English ministers and Sir Hudson, yet it was only a counterpart of his conduct on various other occasions since he had been in our power; that he fancied Government would continue to regard him as a lion in the toils, whom it was desirous to tame by gentle means; that he had shown his disapprobation of his conduct by abstaining from Longwood; that were he not on the eve of his departure from the island, he

would not think of seeing him; that as it now stood, Bonaparte could only regard his visit as a ceremony. If he referred to the conversation (which he was certain he would not) the Admiral would take that opportunity to express his decided disapprobation of his conduct; he further argued that if he did not visit him, Bonaparte would suppose that he was influenced by Sir Hudson, which would irritate him further, and which was not desirable. The Governor, on the contrary, thought that Bonaparte might conclude from the Admiral's visit that he differed from him, respecting his conduct on the 18th of August; but agreed that it was not desirable that Bonaparte should imagine that the Admiral was influenced by him to stay away. It ended by Sir Hudson requesting the Admiral to do exactly as he thought best; that he was perhaps the best judge, as after what had passed it could hardly be supposed he, Sir Hudson, was not influenced by his feelings. He only requested the Admiral would delay his visit, as he was expecting a visit from Longwood. The Admiral also urged that if hereafter

an accommodation between Sir Hudson and Bonaparte was wished, he would be a channel by which it could be made; but if he quitted the station without paying this visit of ceremony, on his return he would be in an awkward situation. On the 21st of September the Admiral wrote to Sir Hudson to say that he intended to visit Bonaparte, as he should sail next day for the Cape.

The following is Sir Hudson's answer and the Admiral's reply:

“PLANTATION HOUSE,  
“21st of September.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have had no communication with Longwood since I saw you, and have therefore no fresh opinion to offer on the subject of your visit there. Bonaparte's protest against visits made by my permission relieves me of course from the necessity of offering any; but without wishing to draw any argument from the rule he has himself laid down, I am still of opinion there is a risk,—your visit at the present moment might do away any impression made on his

mind by your having abstained from seeing him ever since his late violent and revolting conduct, for no part of which any explanation has been offered. Whether this risk is of sufficient consequence to make you suspend your visit, I should wish to leave to your own judgment to determine upon, only begging that you will consider the question in a general point of view, more than as regarding my personal situation and relations with him, any influence of which in your determination, where higher motives do not prevent, I should very much regret. I remain, my dear sir,

“Yours faithfully,

“H. LOWE.”

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I have read with great attention your letter. I regret that you do not see the visit of ceremony that I propose paying to Bonaparte in the same light I do—I feel confident that it will not have the result you suppose. Since Bonaparte embarked on board the *Northumberland*, he has repeatedly conducted himself in a most



indecorous manner, and certainly on the late occasion with the greatest impropriety, —I have no doubt but Government will endeavour to convince him that he is not to act so with impunity. I think, however, that although they may order further restrictions, yet they will continue to desire that he may be treated with a certain regard. This conviction alone induces me to keep to the opinion that I expressed to you. My visit will most probably pass in ceremony; but should Bonaparte speak on what has passed, you may be assured I shall express to him the same sentiments on his conduct as I have done to you.

“I have the honour to be,

“My dear sir, etc.,

“P. MALCOLM.”

As the Admiral expected, Bonaparte took no notice of his long absence, nor did he mention a word of what had passed, or of his situation on the island. Next morning the Admiral told Sir Hudson all that had passed, who appeared well pleased that Bonaparte had avoided local subjects.

*September 21st*

The conversation with Bonaparte began respecting the passage to the Cape, and from that to maritime events of the late war. He said the Dutch were a stupid people, much behind some other European nations; till he built ships at Antwerp they had a very bad navy. It was his intention to have formed another arsenal at Cuxhaven. He spoke again of the improved camels by which he floated the *Rivoli* with all her guns. His engineer had proposed that this camel should have guns mounted on its sides, lest a small vessel should oppose their coming over the shoals. This appeared a favourite project, as he frequently recurred to it. They then spoke of the Russians and Germans. Bonaparte said the former were the braver soldiers, that the Germans were not good troops. The Admiral asked what he thought of the Cossacks. He replied that they were the most active and intelligent men that he knew; they could cross a country in which they had never been before in a most

surprising manner; they were not formidable in a body, but indeed they never fought regular armies, he did not see one at the battle of Borodino, but afterwards they annoyed him much as they had done after the battle of Eylau. They were seldom taken prisoners; they were trained from infancy to their particular mode of warfare. Here finished the conversation; the visit did not last more than twenty minutes.

*September 22nd*

The Admiral sailed for the Cape,<sup>1</sup> and returned the 23rd of November. On landing, before the Admiral had seen Sir Hudson, he received a letter from him respecting the transports and the supplies of the island. This letter the Admiral considered of an improper tenor; it was the beginning of a long and disagreeable correspondence, which created a coolness between them, which was increased afterwards by other circumstances. Had Sir Hudson seen the Admiral and heard from

<sup>1</sup> Lady Malcolm accompanied her husband on his visit to the Cape.

himself the nature of the arrangements he had made, whilst at the Cape, for the future supplies of St. Helena, this correspondence would have been avoided, and its disagreeable consequences. Sir Hudson on the 24th of November sent the Admiral officially the restrictions that he had considered it proper to lay on Bonaparte and his suite; they are dated the 9th of October.<sup>1</sup> Sir Hudson asked his opinion of them. The Admiral considered that some of them could not be carried into effect, and would give cause for much irritation. Sir Hudson said that he would modify them. The Admiral strongly recommended that the regulation respecting Longwood should be clear, and understood by everyone, which was not the case at present, and was the cause that every idle story gained belief. On the 25th of November the Admiral went from Plantation House to visit Longwood. Sir Hudson had requested the Admiral to use his own judgment on the occasion, and again ex-

<sup>1</sup> The regulations of the 9th of October, the circumstances which gave rise to them, and the controversies to which they led, will be found in full in Forsyth.

pressed how desirous he was to render Bonaparte's situation more comfortable, but that he was prevented by Bonaparte's conduct towards him. The Admiral hoped and believed that ere long they would come to a better understanding.

*November 25th*

Bonaparte received the Admiral as usual, talked about the Cape and our establishment of Tristan de Cunha.<sup>1</sup> He then spoke of the expedition against Algiers. He said it was on too large a scale; he thought we ought to have blockaded the port completely; that when the inhabitants found they were prevented carrying on their trade they would have cut each other's throats, and then made with us what terms we pleased. He however added: "If you succeed you will gain great credit in the Mediterranean, but if you fail the Algerians will be more impudent." He told the story of a Dey, who on hearing that France was fitting out an expedition to destroy Algiers,

<sup>1</sup> Tristan de Cunha was occupied by the British Government in 1816, and abandoned in 1817.

said, if the King would send him half the money the expedition cost him he would burn the town himself. This visit was very short. The Admiral called on Madame Bertrand; just as he came out of her house he met Sir Hudson with his Staff and some dragoons. Sir Hudson told the Admiral he was come to arrest Las Cases for having endeavoured to bribe a slave to convey letters to Europe.<sup>1</sup> The Admiral related to Sir Hudson what had passed between him and Bonaparte. Sir Hudson never communicated to the Admiral the particulars of the letter written by Las Cases; but he said publicly at his table that there was not anything in the letters but what might have been sent open. Afterwards, however, he said he had discovered matter of great import. Sir Hudson applied to the Admiral for a conveyance to the Cape for Las Cases—the *Griffon* was sent.

*December 4th*

The Admiral took Lady Malcolm to Longwood to visit the ladies; Madame

<sup>1</sup> The letters in question are printed by Forsyth, vol. i, pp. 476 *et seq.*



Bertrand was near her confinement. They went from Plantation House. Lady Lowe desired Lady Malcolm to say she intended to visit them next day. When Bonaparte heard that the Admiral and Lady Malcolm were at Longwood, he sent to say he was sorry he could not see them, as he was unwell; he had not been out of his house since the 9th of October, when the restrictions were laid on, and declared he would not until some of them were changed, which was done, particularly as to the posting of the day sentinels. He never afterwards took much exercise, but became very abstemious, which kept him in health.

*December 18th*

The *Orontes* arrived from the Cape, having on board Captain Piontkowski, and the three domestics of Bonaparte that had been sent to the Cape. Lord Charles Somerset<sup>1</sup> had applied to Captain Cochrane to give them a passage to England. It appeared to Sir Hudson and the Admiral, that it was giving these people an unnecessary

<sup>1</sup> Governor of the Cape.

voyage to send them to the Cape, if they were to be sent directly to England by way of St. Helena. And to avoid this in future, the Admiral wrote to the Senior Officer at the Cape, to desire, in the event of Lord Charles Somerset applying to him for a passage to England for Count Las Cases, whilst one of the men-of-war from India was at the Cape on her passage to England, he would order her captain not to call at St. Helena. In doing this, the Admiral considered that he was providing for a case that would probably occur, and foreseeing the wishes of Government. The latter has proved to be the case, Lord Bathurst having directed that in the event of any of the persons belonging to Bonaparte being sent to the Cape and eventually sent to England, they are not to call at St. Helena. Besides, the Admiral considered that Sir Hudson had done with Las Cases on his arrival at the Cape. Some time afterwards it came to Sir Hudson's knowledge, in the course of conversation with Captain Stanfell, that such an order had been given, which occasioned another long and more disagree-

able correspondence than that which had passed and was still going on respecting the transports.

*December 28th*

The Admiral accompanied Lady Malcolm to Longwood to visit Madame Bertrand before her confinement; they found her in hourly expectation of it. Dr. O'Meara came to Bertrand's, and taking the Admiral aside, asked if he particularly wished to see Bonaparte. The Admiral, surprised at the question, said, just as Bonaparte pleased: "But," said the doctor, "do you bring no message from the Governor?" "No," said the Admiral, "we merely called to see Madame Bertrand." Dr. O'Meara then mentioned that there had been a proposition between the Governor and Bonaparte that the Admiral should mediate an accommodation of their differences. The Admiral replied that such a proposition must come from Sir Hudson. The Admiral never heard from the Governor on the subject, nor does he know at this moment why the idea was not followed up; Dr. O'Meara

informed him at one time that both parties acquiesced.<sup>1</sup> Bonaparte was suffering at this time from want of exercise, which he persisted in not taking. The sentinels had been removed, but by some unfortunate mistake not so soon as he was informed they were, and when he went out one day he saw one and returned instantly.

*January 11th*

The Admiral went to Longwood. When he mentioned his intention of going for the purpose of introducing Captain Wauchope, Sir Hudson said it was a good opportunity, and how much he wished Bonaparte might have the gratification of receiving visits, or any other gratification consistent with his security. These and similar sentiments Sir Hudson used frequently to express, but from the time the Admiral returned from the Cape, he never did go to Longwood but, sooner or later, his visit gave rise to unpleasant ideas in the Governor's mind. It was an unwillingness

<sup>1</sup> The story of this suggested mediation is told fully in Forsyth.

to excite these prejudices that made him go so seldom. About three o'clock Bonaparte received the Admiral; they conversed *tête-à-tête* till six, when he introduced Captain Wauchope. He appeared thinner and his eyes rather sunk, but considering that he had not taken any exercise since October, except in a small room, he was in better health and spirits than could be expected. The Admiral had not seen him for seven weeks; the conversation was chiefly on the result of the expedition to Algiers, the Egyptian campaign, and events of his early life.

*Expedition to Algiers.*—Bonaparte adhered to the opinion he had given before he knew of Lord Exmouth's success,<sup>1</sup> namely, that it would have been better to have brought them to reason by blockading, than by force. He remarked, however, that the attack would give *éclat* to England, but that the British Navy stood too high to require anything of the kind. Although it would be some time before the Algerians

<sup>1</sup> The bombardment of Algiers, followed by the surrender of the captives, took place in August 1816.

could build large ships, they would purchase small ones, which were the most troublesome; that we had stipulated they should not make slaves of the men they took; but they had not agreed they would not make prisoners, and in the latter situation their treatment would be much worse than in the former. It was the interest of a man to treat his slave well, being his property. They would build their fortifications on an improved plan; "but, after all," said he, "it was a gallant enterprise, and would give us *éclat*."

*Egyptian Campaign.*—Bonaparte said he never had more than thirty-one thousand soldiers, and that twenty-two thousand, amongst whom were some of the seamen that had escaped from the fleet, re-embarked for France. His losses were trifling except in his expedition to Acre, which cost him six thousand, sixteen hundred of whom were killed. If the English Government did not approve of the treaty made by Sir Sidney Smith and Kleber, they were right not to confirm it. Sir Sidney had called himself a Commander-in-Chief and a Minister



Plenipotentiary, neither of which was correct, and this Kleber knew, but he was most desirous to evacuate Egypt on any terms. Kleber wrote to the Directory that he had only twelve thousand men (when he had double that number), and that he had not the means of making any defence. "This letter," continued he, "was intercepted, and deceived the English Government, but Sir Sidney knew the truth. He showed much talent in making the convention of El Arish, and much honour in his conduct afterwards to Kleber; for when he learned that the treaty was not confirmed, he prevented Kleber from giving up the citadel of Damietta to the Turks." Bonaparte thinks the English Government repented they had not confirmed the treaty, when they knew the truth. Had Kleber lived, the French would have made a much better stand in Egypt. He was a more able general than Menou, whose talent was in diplomacy. If the French had kept possession of Egypt, the English sooner or later would have lost India; for if it could not be conquered by the Red Sea, the commerce would have been

drawn to that quarter, and he would have even made the East India Company trade with him. Merchants were of that country that gave them most profit: those of London had frequently supplied him with money; he mentioned the house of Baring as possessing great wealth, and ready to speculate on all occasions. The Admiral replied to the last observation, that he thought that their chief business was with America. Bonaparte answered: "I do not say they had any concerns with me." On his return from Elba he said he had several propositions from London merchants to supply him with money; one from a rich house whose offers he had now by him; he was to pay them with Government paper, but it was to be a secret how the paper was disposed of, to prevent the fluctuations of the funds which the knowledge of the transaction would occasion. The Admiral observed he hoped one of these days all these things would be published. He laughed. He said it was his intention to have opened the ancient canal between Suez and Cairo; he had clearly ascertained that it could be

done, the Nile at Cairo being nearly on a level with the Red Sea. Bonaparte added, England ought to have kept possession of Alexandria, it would have been of much more use to them than Malta. They sent troops to do so (alluding to those under General MacKenzie Fraser<sup>1</sup>), but too few; they went against Rosetta instead of remaining on the defensive at Alexandria. Speaking of keeping the Grand Seignior in full power, France, he said, ought never to consent to the dismemberment of Turkey. "When I was at Tilsit I used to talk jolly (*bavard*), call the Turks barbarians, and that they ought to be turned out of Europe, but I never intended to do so, for when I looked at the map I saw it was not for the interest of France that Constantinople should be in the hands of either Austria or Russia. The Greeks", he added, "would like the dominion of Russia better than any other; the similarity of religion is the

<sup>1</sup> In March 1807 an expedition was sent from Sicily to Egypt, under the command of General MacKenzie Fraser. Alexandria was easily occupied; but an attack upon Rosetta was defeated with heavy loss. And the whole expedition was a failure.

cause; when Moscow was burnt the Greeks were enraged.”

Bonaparte spoke of Paoli as a fine character; he said he neither betrayed France nor England, but was always for his country. England did not show good policy with regard to Corsica.<sup>1</sup> Had she permitted the Corsicans to establish a free government under her protection, she might have rendered it far more useful to her than by making it part of her dominions. Bonaparte spoke in praise of Sir G. Elliot, the Viceroy, and also of the Hon. F. North, the Secretary of the island. He styled Paoli the great friend of the family, and added he was quite an Englishman; he contrasted everything with what he had seen in England. The Admiral requested to know if it was true that he (Bonaparte) was offered a commission in the English army. He replied: “I will tell you how it was. Paoli urged me to enter into the English service, he then had the power of procuring me a commission in

<sup>1</sup> In 1794 the British forces seized Corsica. The party which followed Paoli offered the crown to the English king, who accepted it.

as high a rank as I could expect; but I preferred the French, because I spoke the language, was of their religion, understood and liked their manners, and I thought the beginning of a revolution a fine time for an enterprising young man. Paoli was angry—we did not speak afterwards, but I always respected him, and so did he me. Once he said, ‘That young man will be one of Plutarch’s ancients.’ I considered this as a great compliment.

“The beginning of my rise was at Toulon. The artillery in which I was serving was badly officered, numbers had been privates without education. It was known to the general that I had been well educated at *l’école militaire*; I was the sort of person he wanted; he gave me the command; I was successful, and gained reputation. Fortunately I was in Paris at the revolution of the 13th Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795). Afterwards I was sent to command in Italy, where I gained further reputation. I then went to Egypt, from whence I returned to France at a fortunate moment, when the existing government was so bad it could

not continue. I became its chief; everything else followed of course—*voilà mon histoire en peu de mots.*” The Admiral remarked he was also fortunate in escaping the English cruisers. “Yes, and I give myself much credit for having done so. I was in a bad sailing ship; we stood towards Cyprus against the wind thirty days; at times we lost ground; but I concluded at that season the wind would change and blow strong. It did so, and I arrived in a gale at Ajaccio, where I was confirmed in what I had heard in Egypt, of the reverses the French had met with in Italy, and the general want of confidence in the Directory. This information which I had obtained in Egypt, by way of Constantinople, and by newspapers brought by flags of truce, was the cause of my quitting the army. I saw it was impossible to expect reinforcements from France in its then state, without which nothing further could be done.” Bonaparte also gave himself credit for having made Admiral Brueys make the land twenty leagues to the westward of Alexandria, by which manœuvre he missed Nelson. Had



Sir Sidney Smith kept a few ships off Alexandria he could not have escaped.

*Landing from Elba.*—When Bonaparte landed from Elba, he said the French troops showed the most exact discipline; they always came over to him in bodies. One instance; a corps by order from their officers presented against him. He rode up and called to some who, he saw by the badge on their arms, had served with him, "You old soldiers, do you wish to shoot your general?" "See if we do," they replied, and put their ramrods into their muskets to show they were not loaded. When he came to Grenoble, the troops on the walls shouted "*Vive l'Empereur*", but did not open the gates. "What can this mean?" said Bonaparte to some of his suite. At last hearing that General Marchand, who commanded, had forbid they should be opened, he ordered Marshal Bertrand to call out that the Emperor dismissed General Marchand from his command, and that it was his Imperial orders that the gates should be opened. *Voilà une autre chose*—the general is dismissed, and the Emperor orders the

gates to be opened, and accordingly they were opened. At Lyons, Bonaparte reviewed some troops, and reprimanded a regiment for not performing its evolutions properly. This he said had a great effect; it showed he was confident of his re-establishment. The son of Marshal Moncey, who commanded a regiment, wrote to him to say he had a great regard for him personally, but he had sworn to be faithful to Louis, and he would keep his oath. He added, he respected him for his conduct. "But," said the Admiral, "it would not have answered your purpose had many acted like young Moncey." He laughed.

Speaking of Soult, whom he considered as one of his best generals, he said: "I know that Soult was faithful to the king, yet all his acts had so much the appearance of being in my favour, that it is only myself that could know that they were not done with that intention. He then mentioned that several corps the most attached to him were placed in the south of France, and none of the troops on which the Bourbons could rely. The Admiral asked why they

were so placed if Soult was faithful to the king. Bonaparte replied: "Because he did not calculate on my return direct to France. He told me he thought if I did make the attempt it would be by the way of Italy; and that these were the best quarters for troops, and he was desirous of being popular with the *élite* of the army."

The Admiral spoke of Marshal Ney. "*C'est une autre chose,*" said Bonaparte. "Ney was a hero in the field, *mais toujours une pauvre tête*"; and by his manner showed clearly that he knew that the Marshal had committed himself towards the Bourbons. Bonaparte continued, there were many officers who would have fought against him, but few or none of the soldiers. Count D'Artois, when he came to Lyons with Macdonald, acted very impolitically; he appeared with the order of the St. Esprit, which all those who have risen by the revolution hated, because by no degree of merit could they obtain it, as by its institution it required so many generations of nobility. The Count had twelve officers in his staff, not one in blue uniform, not one

with the Legion of Honour—not one who had fought with the soldiers they came to command—some had fought against them. This was noticed to Macdonald, who said it should be changed, that the Count would take six from the army at *Lyons*. “*C’est trop tard*,” was the reply. Bonaparte repeated what he had often said: “Opinion is everything in France, and most frequently turns on trifles.”

The Admiral asked him, if he had been placed in Louis’ situation, would he have continued the Legion of Honour? “No,” he replied, “because it will always bring me in remembrance; but as they have continued it, they ought not to endeavour to vilify me: on the contrary, they ought to praise me for my deeds that brought glory to France—I always was the first to speak of the great deeds of Henry IV. I will tell you what will happen when I am dead and gone, say in thirty years. They, the Bourbons, will be obliged to raise a monument to my memory in France; has not your Regent made one for the Stuarts?” “Yes,” answered the Admiral, “but it is for the last of the

family.” Bonaparte spoke of Louis as a good and well-intentioned man, but there was a party (ultra royalists) that he could not keep in order, who would overturn his government; they were powerful, but not numerous. At the return of the Bourbons the prefects had filled up the number of the electors, and they, to court the rising sun, put in none but violent royalists. Now it is wished that the majority had been moderates, but it cannot be changed; the ministers of Louis cannot control this party, and the allies cannot be pleased that they will have a majority. The Admiral said that time and tranquillity would put everyone in their proper place, but allowed it was impossible to form a judgment of the real feelings of the nation till the foreign troops should be withdrawn. He then urged his former idea, that Louis had a large party of the peaceable and well-disposed in his favour. “We will see,” said Bonaparte; “they are a fickle nation.”

*Americans.*—Bonaparte was much amused by the report he had read in the papers that the Americans were desirous to possess

the island of Lampedusa. "What fools there are in the world," said he, "that these people that may do as they please in half the globe should wish to have a little bad island that would embroil them constantly with the European powers, and which they would lose the first war. These people's heads are turned with their accidental success, which they attribute to their superior power and knowledge. England would be better without Canada, it keeps her in a prepared state for war at a great expense and constant irritation; but it is a point of honour to keep it, and therefore nothing can be said."

*New Peers in France.*—The Admiral expressed his surprise that Louis should have made the infant sons of Lannes and Bessières peers. He supposed the only reason was their large fortunes, as it was most desirable that the peers should be rich, which made them independent. Bonaparte replied, he supposed the reason was, that at the time numbers thought the King had the intention of restoring to the emigrants part of their property; now by making these children



peers, he showed he had no thoughts of the kind, as part of their property had belonged to emigrants, and they could not be of use to him till they were of age. Bonaparte added: "The Duke of Orleans is the only Bourbon that can settle France. He fought for the revolution, and has never drawn his sword against Frenchmen; he wears the Legion of Honour, and never the St. Esprit, except on great occasions. This is a trifle apparently, but", he repeated again, "trifles are great things in France—reason nothing."

1817. *January 31st*

The Admiral, accompanied by Lady Malcolm, visited Longwood to see Madame Bertrand after her confinement. They found her lying on a sofa with pillows trimmed with lace and worked muslin, a muslin quilt thrown over her, a handsome French cap, and loose morning dress of muslin over pink; her infant, a fine child in a cot with gilt ornaments; the toilette regularly set out, and the room completely arranged to see company. She was in good spirits. Bertrand proposed to the Admiral

that he should mention to Bonaparte that we were there, in which he acquiesced, adding that the visit was, however, to Madame. He soon returned to request we would walk over. Bonaparte received us as usual, complimented Lady Malcolm on her return, and supposed she was now qualified to be a midshipman; he proposed to her to sit on the sofa with him; he asked her if she saw the Marquis de Montchenu as often as formerly?—what would he do when we left the island? He knew Count Balmaine was living at Rosemary Hall with the Stürmers—he was told the Baroness was pretty. “Yes,” replied Lady Malcolm, “but not so much so as she has been; she had grown fat.” “Then,” said he, “she will not have any children.” Bonaparte appeared to know every trifling occurrence. He asked Lady Malcolm how she liked the island, and if it resembled Scotland. She replied she did not like it at all, it resembled some places she had seen in Scotland. He said, “Will you be glad to leave it?” “Yes”, for she had left her only child in England. He then asked the Admiral if

the report was true that he was soon going; who replied he did not know officially that he would soon be relieved, but he thought it probable; he was desirous to enjoy the shore during the peace. Bonaparte said it would not last long, ten years at most. He had seen by the papers that there were discontents in England. He thought it was impossible to go on with such a great expense as you (England) are now at; he could not see the end of it; there was, however, one resource. "You may take the Church revenues, which will pay part of the debt, and you may then reduce the interest one per cent. on the remainder." Lady Malcolm exclaimed, "Seizing the revenues of the Church will never answer." He laughed and asked if she was a Christian. She replied, she was an Episcopalian, viz. Church of England, that the Admiral was Presbyterian. "Then," said he, "do you think" (pointing to the Admiral) "his soul will be damned?" "No," she replied, "that was not our tenet, our religion only differed in civil forms." Bonaparte asked if there was much show in the English

Church?—had they an altar, a crucifix, did they burn incense? He liked incense, it made the churches smell so sweet. All these questions were answered by Lady Malcolm. He then put various questions to the Admiral respecting the Scotch Church. He highly approved of the livings being moderate, and nearly alike. “There is good sense in that”, was his remark. Bonaparte said England ought to tax her absentees. The Admiral said the income tax did it, and regretted that it had been given up. Bonaparte added that she had not done herself justice at the peace. Those kings whose countries she had saved for them, who could not indemnify her with money, she ought to have insisted on giving her an exclusive trade to their colonies for five or even ten years; it was but justice, and the allied powers must have agreed to it. This last remark was in consequence of the Admiral saying the other powers would have made difficulties. The King of the Netherlands owes to England his country, so do Spain and Portugal, they could not have refused the demand. Bonaparte said

if the war had continued longer, the trade to the West Indies for sugar would have been injured, as that made from beetroot was excellent. The Admiral replied the specimens he had seen were bad, very insipid, and Bonaparte allowed it was so, till very lately they discovered a mode to crystallize it, which rendered it as good as that from cane. He said they had also discovered how to make indigo. It had been known long ago, but then they did not understand how to separate certain ingredients that spoiled it. The chemists had made the discovery, and the manufactory was flourishing, so that it might be said that chemistry had made a revolution in commerce, like that of the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. He believed we had a few as good chemists as in France, but chemical knowledge was more general in France. He had instituted an academy for fifty youths to study that science. He spoke of Sir Humphry Davy, whom he had seen in Paris. Bonaparte repeated to-day what he said on a former occasion, and indeed what he had said to

numbers, for it is his custom when he has a favourite idea to repeat it whenever he has an occasion, namely, that he, Bonaparte, destroyed the principles of the French revolution, and that the allies had revived them, by placing the Bourbons on the throne contrary to the wishes of the nation. The Admiral answered that he continued of opinion that, among the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants, there was a strong party for Louis. Bonaparte replied that he was mistaken, there were very few, and if he had never come from Elba, Louis would nevertheless have been dethroned. The Bourbons never can be secure till they restore the French glory; the French are a vain-glorious people, they like their vanity better than bread. At present they feel themselves humbled, and their King they think is the cause; he came to France on the shoulders of Wellington, over the dead bodies of her citizens. It was impossible to foresee the result of the irritation the contributions tend to keep up. "The allies had better have taken territory at once; for the moment the sensation would have



been greater, but it would have been soon over. The pictures ought not to have been taken from the Louvre, it was adding to the unpopularity of Louis. Had I been left to reign, and been obliged to submit to such terms as were dictated, it would have been good policy to have taken them, and humbled me and France as much as possible. Not so a king of your own setting up. Suppose what has happened in France had happened in England, and you had a king forced on you by foreign bayonets, would you keep him when no longer supported by force? No; people are not now sheep to be disposed of as in former times, when a king of France would not marry a woman that was ill-behaved (he ought to have said, divorced his wife because she was ill-behaved), and your Prince Henry, not so scrupulous, married her, and by her obtained possession of two fine provinces, Poitou and Guienne." "The system", he added, "that I pursued in Spain, although it would have eventually been for the good of that country, yet it was contrary to the opinion of the people, and therefore I failed. Ferdinand

is right in following his present system, for the Spaniards like their bigotry, their priests, and all their ancient customs. Ferdinand's confessor once said to me: "Why do you wish us to change our present modes? We like them, and so ought you, for while we follow them we shall never be a great nation, but we are content to be as we are." It is impossible to force a great nation contrary to its opinion." The Admiral remarked that the opinion of a nation was seldom known till it was tried. "England is endeavouring to do so", he resumed, "by supporting the Bourbons." The Admiral said it was yet to be seen whether or not it was really contrary to the majority. Bonaparte said: "England ought to have left me on the throne of France, to have humbled her, and to have reduced her boundaries as much as they pleased." Lady Malcolm said it would not have been good policy in England, because he would not have allowed France to remain in a humbled state. England required peace, and he would as soon as possible have gone to war to raise France to the greatness he

had done before. Bonaparte conceived Lady Malcolm had said that he hated England: he interrupted her with much animation, saying she was mistaken, he did not hate the English; on the contrary, he had always had the highest opinion of their character. He must confess it was now changed, but the proof that such had been his opinion, was his having trusted to the protection of their laws, rather than go to the Emperor of Russia or his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, "where I should have had a palace to live in. I have been deceived, and here I am on a vile rock in the midst of the ocean. I believe," said he, "there are more honourable men in England proportionately than in any other country—but then there are some very bad, they are in extremes." Bonaparte repeated, Europe was very unsettled; Prussia was requiring a constitution, so was Italy, as well as different states of Germany. The Bourbons were endeavouring to conciliate all parties; it was folly, they should take a decided line; better even adopt the ultra royalists and root out the others; at present

the King only governs under Wellington; there was no real nobility in France, no aristocracy, no leaders of party. The country was like a smothered volcano, and no person could tell when or where it would burst. The allies would in the end partition France. Italy too required a constitution, they hated the Austrians. The Emperor was afraid to be crowned, he mistook the applause with which he was received in passing through the country. "It was not intended for him," said Bonaparte, laughing; "it was for his daughter, my wife, who travelled with him." He then apologized to Lady Malcolm for speaking on politics. She answered, it was what Englishwomen were accustomed to hear continually. The Admiral said she had been used to it from a child, that she and her family were staunch Foxites. Bonaparte asked her if she had known Fox personally; he said he was an excellent man; his death was a misfortune both to England and France, for had he lived there would have been peace between the countries. The Admiral said that he had before understood him that Mr. Fox's

death had made no difference in the terms proposed. Bonaparte said: "Pardon me, it made a difference; even before he died, whilst he was ill, they began to alter their tone: had he lived he would have viewed certain events that happened differently from his successors." The Admiral observed that Lord Lauderdale was a friend of Mr. Fox's. Bonaparte said he was so, but said nothing further respecting his lordship. He said when England was sincere in a wish to treat, she employed such men as Lord Cornwallis, a character of firmness and honour, of which he gave the following instance. When the Treaty of Amiens was concluded, it was necessary to go to the Hôtel de Ville to sign, it being considered neutral ground. It was late in the evening, and the ministers were so fatigued that they agreed to defer putting their names to it till next day, but they should consider it as signed. During the night a courier arrived from London, with despatches that would have occasioned a further discussion; when they met at the Hôtel de Ville, Mr. Merry, the Secretary of Legation, urged

his lordship to make some proposal. He replied, "No, my word is pledged to sign it in its present state; Government may ratify it or not as they please."<sup>1</sup> He asked Lady Malcolm if she knew the Duchess of Dorset;<sup>2</sup> he said she was not a well-bred woman; she was at Paris with Lord Whitworth, at the time he used to give dinners of fifty covers, and she never came in time—the English were very angry with her. He added, Lord Whitworth was a sensible man, but he had misrepresented a conversation he had had with him. The Admiral asked if it was the conversation at the *levée*. "No; every person heard that; it was previous in a private interview." Bonaparte asked if it was likely that the divorce of the Princess of Wales would take place. The Admiral answered, he did not think it would, for, by the laws of England, a hus-

<sup>1</sup> This incident has been told by others. Meneval relates it in some detail, and his knowledge of what passed at Amiens is especially good.

<sup>2</sup> Arabella Diana, daughter of Sir Charles Cope, married first the third Duke of Dorset, who died in 1797. In 1801 she married Lord Whitworth, who from 1802 to 1803 was British Ambassador in Paris.



band must not put it into a wife's power to recriminate. Bonaparte said, it was best not, for the sake of the little Princess. He knew Prince Leopold, he was to have been one of his aides-de-camp; he called him *un brave jeune homme*. They then took leave.

The day after this interview Sir Hudson called on the Admiral accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade;<sup>1</sup> they had some difference of opinion respecting the supplies from the Cape. On Sir Hudson's taking leave he addressed the Admiral in an extraordinary manner, and said: "At your last interview with Bonaparte, did anything occur of which his Majesty's Government should be informed?" The Admiral replied, "Nothing." Had Sir Hudson expressed a desire to be informed of the conversation, the Admiral would have had much pleasure in detailing it to him; but to be interrogated in that mode was repugnant to his feelings.

### *March 7th*

The Admiral did not see Bonaparte again until the 7th of March. When he

<sup>1</sup> Adjutant-General in the island.

visited Longwood he found him in excellent spirits, reading English papers that had been received by the store-ship. They conversed for some time on events that had been mentioned in the papers. He said France could not pay her present expense; during the best period that he was on the throne he never could have raised within one million sterling of what was now required. He asked the Admiral if we would take any part in the disturbances of Spanish America. He replied, "No." "But," said Bonaparte, "you will favour its separation from the mother country underhand, for whilst Spain retains her colonies, no matter how kind you are to her, and how ill she is treated by France, she will be your enemy and the friend of France, because she will always be jealous of her trade, and for the loss of it from the superiority of your navy. But separate her from her colonies, and she will become a warlike nation on the back of France, of whom she will then be jealous, and will league with you against her."

*War with Russia.*—The war was undertaken because Alexander had not complied

with some of the articles of the Treaty of Tilsit. "But," said Bonaparte, "I hoped by it to establish solidly the kingdom of Poland as a barrier against Russia, who sooner or later will overrun Europe." "Why," said the Admiral, "did you not stop in Poland?" "Because had I been able to keep possession of Moscow during the winter, I could have dictated my own terms; but the Russians burnt it and ruined me." "Why," asked the Admiral, "did you not march on Petersburg?" "I had not my magazines," replied Bonaparte, "and I could not have subsisted my army; round Moscow there is plenty of grain." Bonaparte then spoke of the English nation; he said he always esteemed them, but he had trusted too much to their generosity. If ever the Admiral saw the Queen of Wirtemberg,<sup>1</sup> she could tell how he had behaved to her; he said if old George were well he would have been better treated, he was not so much in the hands of his ministers as the Regent; besides, he would have seen the bad con-

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte, eldest daughter of George III of England.

sequences to royalty of debasing a person who had once worn a crown by the choice of a nation. The Regent should remember the flattering messages he sent to him at the Peace of Amiens. Bonaparte considered Lord Grenville as the most able statesman in England. The English noblemen should give up their sinecures; although it was a trifle, it would please the people, which was of consequence at such times as the present appeared to be.

Ever since the 18th of August till this day Bonaparte had avoided, in his conversations with the Admiral, saying anything respecting his situation at St. Helena; but he now began by asking him if the Commissioners had received letters, and if they would visit him as individuals. Next day the Admiral called on Sir Hudson, who requested the Admiral to have the goodness to put it upon paper, which he did in the following letter, which will give the finish of that day's conversation. There were a few expressions that are not in the letter—such as asking the Admiral if he did not think the Governor a cunning man, to which he

replied his temper was too quick to be cunning. Sir Hudson appeared particularly well pleased with the Admiral's open communication, as it occurred at a time when the Admiral and he were not cordial, on account of a disagreeable correspondence that had taken place on subjects not relating to Bonaparte.

“*March 8, 1817.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Yesterday I had an interview with Bonaparte; he had been reading the papers you had sent him, and was in good spirits; we conversed on various subjects arising from them. He inquired if the Commissioners had received letters by this occasion. I replied in the affirmative. ‘Will they then see me as individuals?’ I did not know, nor did I believe they had ever expressed a desire to see him as such. Bonaparte said: ‘The Russian has not any objections, his expressions in the request that was made to me to see them as Commissioners were different from the others.’ He then com-

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this and the following letters has been published in Forsyth, vol. ii, pp. 123 *et seq.*

plained of the late restrictions much in the same terms which he has stated to you in writing, except that he added, the people who were with him had agreed to conform to the restrictions imposed on himself, but now they were subject to some from which he was exempt, alluding to their being prohibited to ride to Miss Mason's by themselves. He also said that by the bill of Parliament, ministers were empowered to confine him under certain restrictions; it was for them to say what they should be, but that they could not give that power to others. I replied they certainly could to the Governor. He contended, that if they could give it to the Governor, he could to his aide-de-camp. This conclusion I would not admit. He said you had refused to permit Las Cases to speak to him alone before his departure; he allowed there might be inconveniences in granting this permission, but not equal to the indecorum of refusing it. I answered that Las Cases had the option of remaining at St. Helena. He replied, he could not accept of it, as he had been humbled by the conduct observed towards



him. I said he had offended against the law, and therefore there was no hardship in his case. He then said he had been prevented from seeing the Austrian botanist before his departure, who had come from, and was going to, the residence of his wife and son. I replied that person had also acted contrary to the law, and of course could not be permitted to see him. Bonaparte apologized to me for speaking on these subjects; he knew they were disagreeable to me, but he had been inadvertently led to them. I said the restrictions had been modified to please him, and that I was certain you had every desire to render his situation as agreeable as circumstances would admit. He replied he could not think so, for before the *Orontes* sailed he was

† The Austrian botanist is one Welle, who came to St. Helena under the protection of Baron Stürmer. He was guilty of the impropriety of secretly bringing with him letters and presents for some of Napoleon's suite. This was clearly established, though after repeated denials on his part, and he had to leave the island. Baron Stürmer's letters are full of this man, who gave him much trouble, and brought him into difficulties not only with the English authorities but with his own Government.

preparing a letter of complaint to be sent to Lord Castlereagh, for the Prince Regent, when a proposition was made to him through Dr. O'Meara, that I should mediate an arrangement of the differences that subsisted between you and him; in consequence of which communication, he stopped writing the letter, yet nothing has been done. I replied that certainly this circumstance had not been mentioned to me, but as ships at that time were expected from England, I suppose you delayed speaking of it till you could learn the sentiments of ministers on the events that had caused the additional restrictions being put on. I further observed that, in my opinion, most of the misunderstandings that had arisen were from misrepresentations, misconceptions, and the want of a free personal conversation. Bonaparte answered perhaps it was so; 'the Governor does not understand my character, he has never seen me but when I was irritated, and then I spoke folly.' I replied that I thought he also miscomprehended your character, that I hoped ere long he would have an amicable conversation with

you; that he would find you possessed considerable talents, had great attainments, and a particular knowledge of the events of the period in which he had been so conspicuous; perhaps you were a little too quick in your temper, but from all I knew and heard, I believed you had a good heart. You will forgive me for being particular on this point. He then said, 'It depends on the Governor; he can be useful to me, I cannot to him'. He spoke of Lord Bathurst's hate towards him,<sup>1</sup> and added, he believed he was a bad man. I told him he was in an error as to his lordship's private character, for he was esteemed and beloved by his friends, and referred him to Archdeacon Bathurst's letter and reply (which was before us on the table). He said he had read them, 'But are they true?' I answered, I thought so. Bonaparte remarked that for several months very few persons visited Longwood, not even to see Madame Bertrand; they were strictly questioned as to what passed in conversation, and gentlemen did not like that. Sir George

<sup>1</sup> See *Cornhill Magazine* for March 1887.

Bingham formerly was accustomed to visit Longwood once a week; till within these few days, they had not seen him for several months. I replied that he had precluded visitors from Longwood, by his letter to the Governor, requesting no passports should be given. He made no answer, but again apologized for the conversation.

“I never saw him so moderate, and judging from his manner I think any indulgence that may be shown him will be acceptable. As far as I recollect, this is all that passed that had the smallest relation to his situation at St. Helena. On this and every occasion I have made it a duty to inform you of his sentiments on that subject as expressed to me in our conversations. I hope this will be satisfactory. I have the honour to be,

“Yours faithfully,

“PULTENEY MALCOLM.

“P.S.—I have omitted to state that he complained that his most useful servants had been taken from him. In speaking of the letters written by Count Bertrand and

Montholon, I said I was certain that when he was in power he would have been very angry with any of his governors if they had permitted any persons under their charge to behave in so indecorous a manner. He replied that allowance should be made for the irritation arising from their situation. I answered it was very easy to be civil, particularly when writing from a closet."

The following is Sir Hudson's reply—

"PLANTATION HOUSE,

*March 12, 1817.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I beg to express my acknowledgments for your communication of the 8th inst. Its perusal has excited some reflections in my mind which I hasten to offer to you. I pass over what was said on the Commissioners, the restrictions, my refusal to allow General Bonaparte to see Count Las Cases, to see the botanist (who never asked to see him), Bonaparte's proposal through Dr. O'Meara for your intermeditation (not mine to him, as might be inferred

from the mode in which he stated it to you), to come to the part where you expressed yourself in so favourable a manner of me, for which I beg to assure you of my sincere thanks. In ascribing to me, however, a certain quickness of manner, I am willing to suppose you did not refer to any circumstance of my personal communications with him; I think it would have been failing greatly towards a person in his situation to show it. I dare appeal to your own recollection of the only conversation you witnessed between us, whether in the opening of it, the progress, or the close, anything of that manner was apparent in me. If I gave way to any indignant feeling at the extraordinary language and accusations with which he attacked me, it was to the best of my judgment, neither too unfavourably or quickly uttered. I am the more particular on this point as it is the only time you saw us together. I come now to a farther part where Bonaparte observes few persons visited Longwood even to see Madame Bertrand; *the reason was, they were questioned as to the conversation, which gentlemen did not like.*



He has himself, you very justly observed, excluded all visits to Longwood for these six months past by the letter he caused to be addressed to me; and since that period, you are almost the only English person who has had any conversations with him. But when visitors did go, I was not in the habit of troubling them with interrogations, and can boldly appeal to every person who has been permitted to visit at Longwood, or the Bertrands, for the delicacy I have observed on this point. I should not the less, however, expect, if anything important for me to learn was said, that it should be made known to me. If I thought reserve practised I would not hesitate to question, considering any conversation had with General Bonaparte and his suite, which has relations to my duties on this island, or embraced any subject of political interest, ought as a matter of course to be communicated to me, as well as to the situation I fill here, as to the confidence Government has reposed in me, being at the same time rendered by their instructions the responsible person for all communications with him.

I am perhaps the more particular on this point on account of the difficulty his conduct has thrown in the way of my own relations with him. Sir G. Bingham visited Longwood after the letter requesting me to give no further passports; he did not repeat his visits because Bonaparte held an improper style of conversation before him, and I feel obliged to him for marking his sense of it in so proper a manner.

“The manner in which you expressed your opinion to General Bonaparte of the notice taken by Sir G. Cockburn and myself of the letters addressed to us by Counts Montholon and Bertrand, will have impressed him with your disapprobation of their conduct; in this way you may have done some good. I have not before me the letters of Sir G. Cockburn, nor do I know the motives that dictated his reply. The only letter of any significance which I received from Bertrand was not, to the best of my recollection, shown to you, nor my reply. I shall have much pleasure in showing them; you will, I think, say I could not go much further. Supposing I had resolved on sending Count Bertrand

away, what was to be done with his wife and children—her on the point of confinement and unable to move? The letter you saw written me by Count Montholon was written by the express commands and directions of Bonaparte. The Count by no means escaped notice for it, but until I received instructions on such a point, I was careful it should not be of such nature as to forward and assist the particular object for which Bonaparte made him write it; besides, if I had sent him away, what was to be done in such a case with the Countess Montholon, who was precisely in the same situation as Madame Bertrand? Count Las Cases' case was very different; acts in direct violation of the law, clandestine and insidious, were those he attempted, and the example was very properly made on him who was working most in the dark. Whatever was the system pursued with the others, they have evidently both amended on it.

“On the whole, sir, I beg to express my best acknowledgments for the obligingness and interest of your communication to me. I cannot be more desirous than I always

have been to yield every indulgence to Bonaparte that my instructions can properly admit; and I have modified some of the restrictions, and am, as you know, doing the same with some of the others, but the principle of them must remain the same. What is irksome in them arises, you must be sensible, more from his own manner of viewing and acting on them, than from any positive restraint the rules themselves oppose. It rests, therefore, in a great measure upon himself to render them easy to him; he will never find me backward in assisting him to lighten them when an ulterior object is in view.

“I remain, my dear Sir,

“Your obliged, etc.,

“H. LOWE.

“SIR P. MALCOLM.

“P.S.—Did General Bonaparte at your last conversation say anything to you on the subject of Dr. Warden’s book?<sup>1</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> Warden was medical officer on board the *Northumberland*, the ship which took Napoleon to St. Helena. His *Letters from St. Helena* has never been considered a book of value.

and the accounts of the riots must have attracted his particular attention."

*"March 12th.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, and beg to assure you that my remarks on the quickness of your manner did not refer to any circumstance of your personal conversation with Bonaparte, for both the times that I accompanied you to Longwood, I admired the coolness and readiness of your replies; but in speaking my sentiments of your general character, I made use of the words as stated in my letter of the 8th instant, and as I had done so I would not conceal them from you, as it is my maxim in life to be open and candid on all subjects. Bonaparte did not mention Warden's book, and his only remark on the riots was, that such disturbances only strengthened the hands of ministers.

"Yours faithfully,

"P. MALCOLM.

"SIR H. LOWE."

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I am much obliged to you for the readiness and kindness of your explanations as to the remark made on the quickness of my temper. So long as Bonaparte did not regard it in the light of any acknowledgment made to him for such a defect, I am quite at ease about it; otherwise as it stood it might have favoured one of the most unfounded accusations he has brought against me. In whatever light you may have spoken of it, be assured, sir, I feel most sensible of your candour, in your repeating it to me. I shall enclose your letter to Mr. Jackson, who will see that Lieutenant Lee, his relation, has not been neglected.

“I remain, my dear Sir,

“Your obliged, etc.,

“H. LOWE.

“SIR P. MALCOLM.”

1817. *March 25th*

The Admiral went to Longwood, accompanied by Lady Malcolm, Captains Stanfell and Festing. Captain Stanfell had



never seen Bonaparte, although he brought Sir Hudson to St. Helena, but in part it was his own fault. They first called on Madame Bertrand; she took Lady Malcolm into another room and told her she had received letters from the Duc de Fitz James, who told her he could not act otherwise than he had done on her husband's trial, but not to be uneasy at his condemnation; it would have no consequences, and very soon they would be able to return, if not to France, to England.<sup>1</sup> She said it was their wish to remain with the Emperor as long as possible, but in justice to their children they ought not to stay above eight months longer, for their eldest boy in particular was of an age to require education. Bertrand announced that Bonaparte was ready to receive us. We found him in the billiard-room with Madame Montholon and all his suite; after some compliments to Lady Malcolm, on Captain Stanfell's being introduced he remarked he had not seen

<sup>1</sup> In 1821, after General Bertrand's return to France, his conviction was annulled, and he was restored to his military rank and honours.

him before, asked the name of his ship, and if he was married and had children. On hearing he had just arrived from the Cape, he inquired if he had seen Las Cases, and whether he was at liberty. Captain Stanfell answered that he was living at Lord Charles Somerset's country house, Newlands, where he had visited him; that numbers did so; also his son's health was much improved. The young man was frequently in Cape Town; he had derived much advantage from the prescriptions of the wonderful young physician, Dr. Barry,<sup>1</sup> who became master of his profession at the age of seventeen. Bonaparte remarked that a similar medical phenomenon had appeared in France named Bichat; he died at the age of twenty-eight years, which was a great misfortune; had he

<sup>1</sup> There is a notice of Barry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Barry was a woman, but passed all her life for a man. She served in the Medical Department of the Army, and attained the rank of Inspector-General. At the date referred to above she was serving with a regiment at the Cape. Her sex was discovered after her death in July 1865. Bichat, the celebrated physiologist, was born in November 1771, and died in July 1802, in his thirty-first year.

lived it was expected he would have added much to the science. He asked Captain Festing if he was married, who answered "No."—"Then you are *boy*." Bertrand observed that was not good English; *garçon*—was bachelor. He then asked many questions about Scotland; he said it was a poorer country than England. The Admiral allowed it was, but added that it had been much enriched by the numbers of Scotchmen who had made fortunes in the colonies, and returned and settled in their native place. "Yes," said Bonaparte, "mountaineers always love their country"; then addressing Lady Malcolm he asked if she was not a mountaineer. He could not clearly understand Scotch peers being made English peers. The Admiral explained that since the Union there had been no creation of Scotch peers, nor in fact English, they were British peers. "Then all Scotch peers must be of ancient family," he replied. He asked if Lord Keith and Lord Melville were Scotch peers; he knew, he said, their names were Elphinstone and Dundas. He then inquired what were the names of the great families in

Scotland—if Douglas was not one of the first. The Admiral said “Yes”, and then mentioned several others. He seemed anxious to understand the ranks of the different classes of nobility in England, and if they did not generally take their title from their estates. He then spoke of the titles of Nelson and Wellington. The Admiral explained that sometimes the title was taken from an estate, sometimes from the name, and others from a remarkable event in the life of the individual. He instanced Earl St. Vincent. He then spoke of the play that had been acted in the valley a few days before, viz. *The Rivals*. He knew it was written by Sheridan, with whose wit and talents he appeared well acquainted. He remarked on the difficulty of a person not conversant with a language reading poetry; he could read English newspapers to be amused by them, but he should never speak the language, for he could not pronounce it, nor could he read poetry. Did we consider Milton as a great poet? he was an infernal one. “Yes,” said the Admiral, “and a celestial one also,” for

he had described Heaven as well as Hell, that he was considered one of our first. Bonaparte asked if he was not one of the regicides who voted the death of Charles. The Admiral said he had not voted for the death of the king, for he was not in parliament, but after it had taken place he wrote in defence of it, in consequence of which he believed Cromwell employed him as his secretary. Bonaparte twice asked the Admiral if he was certain that Milton was not a regicide; he then inquired if the English, like the French language, had been much changed since the days of Shakspeare, and whether his plays had not been modernized—if Dryden and Addison had not made a change in the language. The Admiral said these authors had improved it, but the change had taken place by degrees and imperceptibly. He asked if we had not a celebrated poet named Byron? “Yes, Lord, Byron; he is a peer of England, he is much admired; there were several others in high estimation, this was the poetic age in England.” Bonaparte said Italian poetry was fine, their prose bad; it

was difficult for a person not well acquainted with Italian to read their poetry, they cut their words.

He then inquired when the *Conqueror* was expected, and what class of ship she was—he had been told the *Northumberland* was built on a French model. “Yes,” said the Admiral, “from that of one of the ships captured in 1794 by Lord Howe.” He asked if the *Tonnant* was the same taken from the French at Aboukir; if she had suffered much in the action. He inquired what name we had given to the *Guillaume Tell*. The Admiral said the *Malta*, and that our *Canopus* had been the *Franklin*. He remarked that all these were of the same class, and fine ships. He asked what description of ships we used to transport cavalry? “Small vessels that took between thirty and forty horses.” He then asked the Admiral how many regiments had been landed at Ostend from America. The Admiral said six or seven, but they were not all at the battle of Waterloo; some were at Ghent, others at Brussels. Bonaparte then turned to Lady Malcolm, and asked



her if she played chess. She replied, "A little." He ordered the chess-board in the inner room. They sat down to the table; the gentlemen formed a circle round them. Bonaparte played quick, talking at times to the Admiral; sometimes he made a false move, and at others bad ones; one of his suite generally told him of his mistake. They also noticed a bad move which Lady Malcolm made, which he desired her to take back. Lady Malcolm won, at which he laughed, and said he would try another game. He desired Lady Malcolm as before to take the move, he played with more attention, and won; their play was nearly on a par. He then proposed going to the other room as it was colder; from the windows he observed one of the brigs cruising; he said it must be a tiresome employment. They then spoke of the number of India ships and passengers that came to St. Helena, the length of the passage to China, the size of the ships, and the number of their crews. On speaking of the harbours on the French coast, the Admiral said he had been much employed off Brest, and had

good shelter in Douarnenez Bay. Bonaparte laughed and said that he had ordered mortars to be prepared, that would have made us keep a proper distance; they were to be placed on the heights; the same sort as those he used to keep Admiral Pellew from Hyères Islands. He then spoke of the English diplomatic characters, with the highest praise of Lord Cornwallis, whose name he never mentioned but with encomiums. He mentioned Lords St. Helens, Malmesbury, and Whitworth, as able men; "but for your Drakes, Rumboldts, Jacksons and Mackenzies,<sup>1</sup> such gentlemen as these

<sup>1</sup> Drake was the British representative at the Court of Bavaria in 1804 after the outbreak of war at the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. While filling this capacity he took an active part in seeking to promote disaffection against the existing government in France. Under pressure from France the Bavarian Government dismissed him. The diplomatic documents to which the incident gave rise are not very instructive; the principal papers are to be found in the *Annual Register* for 1804. Drake was entirely the dupe of the agent employed by him in France.

In the same year occurred the incident best known in the career of Sir George Rumboldt. He was British Minister at Hamburg, accredited to the Circle of Lower Saxony, of which the King of Prussia was

are not to be depended on". He said he had heard that Scotchmen drank very much, and turning to Lady Malcolm said: "Is it true they never get up from table till supper is ready?" She replied that formerly it was too much the case, but not so now, drinking was no longer the fashion. "*Bon,*" said he, "but it was the fashion when the Prince Regent was young. I have been told he sometimes sat at table till he fell off his chair; was it not so?" The Admiral said such stories were always exaggerated; he

at the head. Sir George was seized by French agents and carried to Paris with his papers. The Prussian King, under the advice of his minister Hardenberg, protested, and Rumboldt was released.

There were two brothers Jacksons in the English diplomatic service. Francis, the elder, was British minister in France for nearly a year after the Peace of Amiens. He was sent to Denmark in 1807, and presented the ultimatum the rejection of which was followed by the destruction of the Danish fleet. Sir George Jackson served under his elder brother in France, and was again in Paris with the Allies in 1814. His Diaries and Letters, published by his widow, are well known.

Mackenzie represented Great Britain in 1810, in the unsuccessful negotiations for the exchange of prisoners referred to in the Diary under date 3rd of May, 1817.

followed the then fashion, like other young men of the country. He asked Lady Malcolm if her pelisse was English silk?—she said it was China—if the English silk was equal to the French? She said “No,” she believed Lyons was yet unrivalled for silk. He then took leave.

*May 3rd*

The Admiral went to Longwood from Plantation House, where he had been staying some time, in consequence of the sickness of Captain Meynal. Bonaparte spoke of the sickness of the island, and of Captain Meynal's illness. They then conversed on the condition of Europe. He recapitulated his former ideas, and said that the French could not pay the expenses that were now levied on them without force, which, if used, would render the Bourbons more and more unpopular. He said we might have avoided the last war with Spain by cajoling her a little, but it was good policy in us declaring that war. We gained more than we lost; but we should not have taken the galleons: “the money was not

worth the irritation that it caused in the mind of the Spaniards against you.<sup>1</sup> It gave me (Bonaparte) pleasure, because it set them all against you". The Spanish Government were never afraid of him, they looked on him as a defender of royalism; but they had dreaded the democratical principles of the Directory. He said he received very little cash from them (the Spaniards); they gave him orders on Vera Cruz for dollars, which orders he always

<sup>1</sup> By the treaty of San Ildefonso (1796) France and Spain became allies, and each undertook to assist the other, in case of attack, with men and ships. In October 1803 a fresh convention was entered into, by which, in lieu of its former obligations, Spain became bound to make to France a fixed payment of 6,000,000 francs a month. This at a time when France was at war with England would of course have abundantly justified the British Government in declaring war against Spain. But without a declaration of war, and while negotiations with Spain were still proceeding, the British Government gave orders to the fleet to intercept the treasure frigates from America bound for Cadiz. This order was carried out by Captain Moore in command of four frigates. In October 1804 he fell in with the Spanish frigates, of which one was blown up in the action which followed, while the other three with the treasures on board them were captured. This precipitated the war with Spain.

negotiated in London; his agents went by Amsterdam in general, and smugglers brought him gold, and the remainder was paid by orders on the Continent.

*Copenhagen Expedition.*—This was foolish—he did not want the Danish fleet. It was their seamen he wanted to man his ships, of which he had plenty; and our attack threw them into his arms; they were wavering before and making all sorts of excuses.

*Exchange of Prisoners and Detained Travellers.*—He said we had seized the French travelling on the seas before our ambassador quitted Paris, and he had done so by those on land by way of retaliation. The Admiral said that the crews of the ships taken before the declaration of war were sent to France. He denied it; some, perhaps, he said were, but not all, and few till we found he intended to keep our travellers. “But,” said the Admiral, “you would never agree to an exchange on a fair footing.” He replied that his proposals were very fair—first, that we should send three thousand Frenchmen, for which he



would send one thousand English, one thousand Spanish, and one thousand Germans, who had fought with our army. He had only ten thousand English, who by that arrangement would all be exchanged, "for you had fifty thousand French." But why not," said the Admiral, "accept our offer, French for English, and then French for foreigners?" "Because when you had got your ten thousand prisoners, you would have found excuses and stopped the exchange." The Admiral replied that the same argument applied to his mode, particularly as he stipulated to receive none but in perfect health, and that it appeared to him that the two Governments did not choose to trust each other. On this and on many other occasions he referred the Admiral to speeches of our parliament to show that he had offered fair. He said the English never understood the French Revolution, because they compared it to the times of Charles the Second, that there was not the least resemblance; had the French been more moderate and not put Louis to death, all Europe would have been revolu-

tionized: the war saved England. We compared him to Cromwell, it was not just; Cromwell was placed at the head by the army. The voice of France called him to the throne. The Admiral replied that they had now changed, for the unarmed part of the nation were against him. "Not so much as you think"; those on the coast and in manufacturing towns he allowed might be so, for they wanted peace and commerce. "But," said he, "you must remember that almost every Frenchman has been a soldier." He then said: "I destroyed the revolutionary principles in France and in other countries; but the allied powers have again brought them forward by forcing the Bourbons on the nation, contrary to the public opinion." The Admiral contended, it was not contrary to the opinion of a large proportion, and that of the best of the inhabitants; and if France could be kept tranquil some years, the Bourbons would become popular; but he never would believe the Admiral on this head.

*Algiers.*—He proposed to the English

ministers after the Peace of Amiens to destroy Algiers, but they would not agree to an united expedition.

*Malta.*—Lord Whitworth proposed to give him (Bonaparte) a large sum, thirty millions of francs, to let us keep Malta.

In speaking of England he said: "The English nobility are the chiefs of the populace, and the French are the masters; they are a vain, poor set. You have seen Montchenu, he is a fit representative of the ancient class. The other day when he met General Gourgaud, he spoke of the antiquity and greatness of his family, so do they all in France; and to those, as in this case, who have risen by the Revolution, nothing can mark more strongly their want of sense." Bonaparte at the finish of this conversation made some allusions to his situation. The Admiral endeavoured to show him that he never could be comfortable unless he was on better terms with Sir Hudson, and reassured him how anxious the Governor was to render him so. He said that Englishmen always supported each other against foreigners. They spoke of the expected

arrival of Lord Amherst.<sup>1</sup> The Admiral remarked that it would be an excellent occasion for Sir Hudson and him to meet at his lordship's introduction, without reference to anything past. Bonaparte made no particular reply, but said he should like to see strangers, but he would not till the humiliating restrictions were changed.

On the Admiral's return to Plantation House, he related some parts of the foregoing conversation to Sir Hudson, particularly that part respecting Lord Amherst. He seemed to apprehend that Bonaparte might suppose it was a proposition from him, "but I had, as I told him, assured Bonaparte it was only an idea of my own".

*June 19th*

The Admiral and Lady Malcolm went to Longwood accompanied by Captain Jones of the *Julia* and Major Boyce of the Marines. They found Bonaparte in the billiard-room. After saying something to

<sup>1</sup> Lord Amherst was at this time returning from an embassy to China. He was afterwards (1823-1828) Governor-General of India.

each, he requested Lady Malcolm and the Admiral to go into the next room; he observed to Lady Malcolm that it was long since he had seen her. He noticed her gown; she said it was Scotch muslin, to which he replied it was right to wear the manufactures of our own countries. He then pointed to the bust of the King of Rome, he said he had just got it. Lady Malcolm remarked the beautiful curls of the hair. Bonaparte, smiling, said: "He has fair hair, like a Scotchman." She remarked that the features resembled his. He replied, the lower part of the face was like his, but the upper like the Empress. The Admiral asked who made it; he said an artist at Leghorn; he had made two, one for the Empress and one for him. Bonaparte thought it well done—although the Governor had told Bertrand that it was a *mauvaise* piece of cut stone, not worth the hundred pounds the man asked for it. He added it was brought by the gunner of one of the store-ships, and Sir Thomas Reade had told the captain he ought to have thrown it overboard. The Admiral did not believe

Sir Thomas had said so—he should not give credit to such reports—Sir Thomas had enemies, and things were told of him that were not true. Bonaparte replied that some officers had heard him, and turning to Lady Malcolm, asked her if it was not barbarous. She replied it was so barbarous that she did not believe Sir Thomas capable of it. He said he intended to have written on the subject, but the captain of the ship denied to Bertrand that Sir Thomas had made use of the expressions. Bonaparte appeared much pleased with the bust; he said it was to him invaluable. Bonaparte then asked if the Admiral had read Lord Bathurst's speech in reply to Lord Holland's of the 13th of March, 1817.<sup>1</sup> He said it was full of falsehoods, and offered to show the Admiral the letter he was writing in answer, the

<sup>1</sup> On the 18th of March, 1817, Lord Holland in the House of Lords moved for papers connected with Napoleon's detention and treatment, and called attention to various matters to which he took exception. His speech was based upon Count Montholon's letter, referred to, p. 20, note. Lord Bathurst, the Minister for War and the Colonies, to whose department the matter appertained, replied on behalf of the Government.



beginning of which was finished. The Admiral declined seeing it. Bonaparte urged it several times, but the Admiral persevered in his refusal, saying that it was to no purpose his reading it; he had no authority to interfere in any way respecting the treatment of him and his suite, he visited him as an individual; that it would give him sincere pleasure to see him more comfortable, and he had frequently pointed out to him, what he conceived the best mode, namely, a reconciliation with the Governor, who, he repeated, was anxious to do all in his power for him. Bonaparte frequently interrupted the Admiral to say that Sir Hudson deceived him, that he had no wish to make his situation agreeable. The Admiral added, when he refused to read the letter, that if it was sent to Sir Hudson, Bonaparte might rely on its being forwarded to ministers. He seemed to doubt this, and, adverting to Lord Bathurst's speech, said, his lordship could not have been in possession of the restrictions of the 9th of October, and his observations thereon, otherwise he must have wilfully made wrong statements. He

was glad to see that the treatment observed towards him could only be defended by falsehoods, for either the Governor had not written the facts, or Lord Bathurst had misstated them, for in the speech were calumnies and misstatements. The Admiral replied that the speech of Lord Bathurst was not correctly given in all the newspapers, and perhaps in none; he had only seen one, and he understood it was very differently stated in others. Bonaparte replied, the expressions might differ, but there could not be any great difference in the substance. The Admiral said he felt convinced that the restrictions were sent home by Sir Hudson, but he (Bonaparte) continued to doubt it, and added it was absurd to say the restrictions of the 9th of October were for his comfort. If he rode or walked out, and accidentally met a person he was inclined to speak to, was there any comfort in being obliged to pass him and only say *good-day*? (this expression and “comfort” he spoke in English)—to say that the restrictions were for his comfort, was much the same as the Governor’s saying he had not made any

changes in his treatment. The Governor began making changes in the month of August, although the restrictions were not dated till October the 9th. Bonaparte added: "I feel the changes, and you might as well tell a person you were beating with a stick that you were not beating him whilst he was smarting with the blows, as the Governor to tell me he had made no changes, while I am suffering by them." The Admiral replied, all these things which were now so unpleasant might have been prevented had Sir Hudson and he met on amicable terms; he continued to mistake the Governor's character, who always wished to make him comfortable—he was certain such was his wish, but he prevented him. Bonaparte exclaimed *Bah!* and turned away towards the window, but soon recovering, he returned saying: "He deceives you—he is a cunning man—you don't know him. When he first arrived I was prepared to think well of him, but the first time I saw him, he said with his ungracious manner he was empowered to impose additional restrictions on me, and the second interview he

proposed to send away my physician, and take one of his choosing. I replied to this last proposition, that he might if he pleased send him away, I would not take another; he meant me to have Dr. Baxter." The Admiral said Dr. Baxter was an excellent man. Bonaparte said it might be so, but he did not choose to have a person about him from the Governor, who soon after proposed to send away all his friends. "Was this a mode to conciliate a man in my situation?" The Admiral repeated that it was the Governor's wish to ameliorate what was disagreeable in his situation, and attributed much of what he considered unpleasant, to the irritation that he (Bonaparte) gave way to. He added: "You would not have allowed one of your Governors to be treated as you did Sir Hudson in my presence on the 18th of August." Bonaparte again turned from the Admiral, exclaiming *Bah!* as before, but instantly recovering, returned and said, unjust as England has been towards him in sending him to St. Helena, this vile rock, he did not consider it so great an injury as appointing a character such as Sir Hudson

to be its Governor. "Had such a man as Lord Cornwallis been appointed, I could not have had a reasonable complaint. I do not mean a peer, a man of his rank, I mean a man who resembled him in character." The Admiral again and again assured him, that he had taken an improper prejudice against Sir Hudson, and that he did not despair of hearing of them being on good terms. Bonaparte said the Governor had informed him that he could not send a letter to the Regent open, without its being first read by him, and that after that the ministers must read it, before it met the Prince's eyes. The Prince was the same as the King, and was it to be believed that the King of England could not receive a sealed letter? The Admiral replied that what had been said respecting not delivering a sealed letter to the Regent, only referred to his (Bonaparte's) particular case; that such was the law, and had it not been so, some of the peers would have replied to that part of Lord Bathurst's speech. He then said: "They all call me a prisoner of war; as such I have a right to petition the Prince." "Assuredly," said the

Admiral, "but all petitions are sent open that are addressed to the Prince in Council, and if you send one of that nature it will not be stopped." The Admiral here added, that he was certain that Sir Hudson had sent home every transaction between them. "Yes," said he, "but changed to suit his own purpose." This the Admiral would not allow. Bonaparte went on: "Every prisoner in England if ill-treated may claim the protection of the magistrates. Then why am I, who ought to be protected by the English laws, placed in the sole power of one man to use me as he pleases? Why is not the Governor obliged to consult a council, as to my treatment, and the changes he may think it necessary to make? Such a council can easily be assembled. It might have consisted of you" (looking at the Admiral), "Sir G. Bingham, numbers of Government officers; in short, of any respectable persons. Were I a prisoner to an arbitrary government it would be different, but as I am called a prisoner to the English, I should have the advantage of their laws. The Governor pretends he has a



right to make what restrictions he thinks proper; the bill only gives that right to the Government, not to subordinates." The Admiral answered, as on a former occasion, the basis of the restrictions were formed by ministers, but as they had not the necessary local knowledge, it was requisite that the mode of executing them should be left to the Governor. Bonaparte said: "On many accounts I had cause to complain of Sir George Cockburn, but we never conversed together but we were satisfied with each other, but it is impossible to converse with Sir Hudson. It was possible to live under the regulations established by Sir George, but now we are tortured to death by pin-point wounds." It would have been more human, he added, to have killed him at once. The Admiral replied, his language was too strong. Bonaparte continued, his health was impaired by his treatment. The Admiral observed he appeared in good health. "Yes, bodily," he replied—"I have a strong constitution, but my mental powers will fail, they will not last two years." He required much exercise on horseback,—he would have liked

to have taken a ride with the Admiral or Sir George Bingham<sup>1</sup>—he had thought of proposing it to the Admiral, but he knew that, the second or third time, the Governor would have found out some indirect mode of preventing it. “It was proposed that you should be a mediator between him and me; the moment I assented he flew off.” The Admiral replied, if he proposed riding with Sir George Bingham, no objections would be made to it. Bonaparte said that Sir George was a good man, that he had a great esteem for him, but he would not propose it, for he knew some obstacle would be put in the way, and he would not subject himself to a refusal. The Governor had changed the orders to the officers on guard without informing him, and some of his people, taking their usual ride, were stopped; the same might occur to himself had he been riding, so that he would not go out at all. The officers’ orders were not distinct, they did not know how to act; but it was all of a piece, everything was ambiguous and suspicious; Sir Hudson was afraid the coat

<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General.

he wore should discover his intentions. "But", added he, "this is the high-road from India; concealment of my treatment is impossible, sooner or later everything will be known, and England will blush for her Governor. Sir George Cockburn permitted us to write sealed notes to the respectable inhabitants; even you, the Admiral, cannot write me a sealed note." Observing the Admiral about to reply, he smiled, and continued: "I know you cannot, otherwise you are too well bred not to have sent a note with the turtle the other day"—smiling again. "Was it not you that sent me the turtle? Why did you not write with it?" The Admiral answered he had sent the turtle, but he had not written with it, because he had not been in the habit of writing to him, and wished to avoid it; when he had occasion to write to Count Bertrand he had sealed his letters. At this period of the conversation Bonaparte took from the table a coffee-cup and saucer of the most beautiful French china, on which was painted an Egyptian view of Cleopatra's Needle, saying, "This is a gift for my lady." When she had admired

it and thanked him, Bonaparte laughed and said he would not make the Admiral any present, for he would not hear reason. Ladies had more compassionate hearts than men for an object in misfortune—Lady Malcolm said for the great men in misfortune. He exclaimed, to bear misfortune was the only thing wanting to his fame. “I have worn the imperial crown of France, the iron crown of Italy; England has now given me a greater and more glorious than either of them—for it is that worn by the Saviour of the world—a crown of thorns. Oppression and every insult that is offered to me only adds to my glory, and it is to the persecutions of England I shall owe the brightest part of my fame.” The Admiral said he was quite mistaken as to the intention of England towards him; she wished him kept in security, but with every attention to his comfort; and again repeated, that he had himself to blame that he was not so. Bonaparte then said he was sensible of the attention he and the ladies had received from the Admiral and Lady Malcolm, in coming to see them in their

misfortune. "You wanted nothing from me; I have no longer the power to do any person service; you come from the goodness of your hearts." England, he said, called him General Bonaparte, a prisoner of war. He certainly had been a general, but it was no less true that afterwards he had been First Consul, and then Emperor of France. When on board the *Bellerophon* he had thought of taking the name of Colonel Muiron,<sup>1</sup> but the English Government objected. "Once Prince Metternich addressed a paper to me acknowledging my titles. I drew a pen through the words, saying it was not necessary to tell the name of the sun then shining, everybody knew it. So every person knows I have been First Consul and Emperor, then why resume a title I quitted previous to those?" He then quoted a text in Scripture, that David had said of Saul: "Once an anointed king, he must always be a king." Turning to Lady Malcolm he said, "You read the Bible, and will recollect it" (we have not found it). He added: "Now am I a prisoner of war?"

<sup>1</sup> His aide-de-camp, killed at the battle of Arcole.

This furniture" (looking round the room), "materials to build a large house, things like these are never sent to accommodate a prisoner of war; nor was there ever known an admiral, a general, regiments, and ships sent to guard a prisoner of war. It is therefore nonsense, which contradicts itself." The Admiral replied that his particular case was quite different from all others, there was no precedent. Bonaparte said that had Mr. Fox been alive he would have stated his situation better than Lord Holland had done. Lord Bathurst talked of his comforts; was there any in the miserable manner he had been lodged ever since he had been on the island? The Admiral said he had declined having a house built. He answered "No", but when the Governor proposed building it, aware, from the slowness with which everything was done on the island, that it would take six years to complete it, he said he had better not build it, as he would be dead or removed before it was finished. "When the Governor, observing what a bad bedroom I had, offered to add a room to these apartments, I particularly refused, not



wishing to have my ears annoyed by constant hammering for many months. I, however, did not object to a better house, provided it was in a situation where there was shade and water. The Governor might do as he pleased." Bonaparte said he did not blame the Governor for sending away Piontkowski and his servants, because he knew he was ordered to do so. Nor did he care how much his provisions were curtailed; the sale of his plate would continue to assist him in procuring what was required, but it was not very generous treatment. He did not mind what was said against him when he was on the throne of France, for whatever he then did was known to thousands, who would speak the truth; but to be calumniated when he was kept at this secluded place, when the truth could not be known, was very hard. "All these misunderstandings might be obviated, if you would meet the Governor," said the Admiral; "there will be a good occasion on the arrival of Lord Amherst—forget the past, and you will go on better in future." Bonaparte avoided this subject by saying to the Admiral:

“You are so much of an Englishman there is no reasoning with you;<sup>1</sup> like all Englishmen you think everything your countrymen do must be right, and a foreigner must be wrong.” Bonaparte remarked that Sir Hudson wished everything should be a secret, and nothing was secret. “He did not wish it to be known that iron railings had come out to shut me up, like a bird in a cage—yet all the island knew it.” The Admiral remarked the iron railing was ornamental for the intended house, and there could be no secret, as it was landed and put with the other materials. Bonaparte then apologized for detaining them so long speaking of his own concerns—asked the Admiral if he should see him again before his departure, to which he replied in the affirmative; they then took leave.

On the way from Longwood, the Admiral mentioned, as was his custom, some of the conversation to Captain Jones and Major Boyce, avoiding always such parts as re-

<sup>1</sup> This complaint is repeated as from Napoleon, in a letter from O'Meara to Sir Pulteney Malcolm of the 23rd of June.

garded Bonaparte's situation at St. Helena; and indeed what he mentioned had already been spoken of in the town, The Admiral wrote to Sir Hudson, to relate certain circumstances that had occurred at this interview. He did not enter into all the particulars, as Sir Hudson's late conduct had precluded him from opening his mind freely to him. Sir Hudson's reply gave the Admiral much offence, as it charged him with concealing matters of consequence which had been promulgated by Captain Jones. This led to a warm discussion; when it appeared that Captain Jones, in speaking of Bonaparte in the hearing of a staff officer, who encouraged the conversation, mentioned various circumstances, not as coming from the Admiral, but as topics that had been commonly talked of. This was repeated to Sir Hudson as having been originally told by the Admiral; and the staff officer declared that he considered it his duty to relate all he heard to the Governor. The Admiral was now almost convinced that, through the same channel, many other unfounded reports had been made to the

Governor; indeed it was put past a doubt by a letter which Sir Hudson a few days after addressed to him, by which it appeared that he had been misinformed on several points. To this letter the Admiral did not reply till the day he sailed, considering that a further discussion would not benefit the service, and would only embarrass the Governor, whilst he was occupied with Lord Amherst, and preparing his despatches for England. A proposition was made to the Admiral to destroy the letters that had passed between them on this occasion, which he consented to do; but there was afterwards made an exception to one; the Admiral replied all or none. The Admiral now discovered that there was a system of spies on the island, and that every trifle was reported to the Governor. With open, candid Englishmen this is detestable, and must cause incalculable evil.

On the 3rd of July, Admiral Plampin, by desire of Sir P. Malcolm, spoke to Sir Hudson respecting paying a visit to Bonaparte, and said how happy he would be if he would accompany him, and if so we would all go

together. Sir Hudson appeared well pleased with the proposition, and said that he should be happy to present Admiral Plampin, but if it was more acceptable, that Admiral Malcolm would introduce him. Bertrand returned for answer that Bonaparte would be glad to see the Admiral; accordingly by desire of Sir Hudson they went. They found Bonaparte unwell; Admiral Malcolm had never seen him so much apparently indisposed. On being introduced into the billiard-room, Bertrand proposed to Admiral Malcolm to go by himself to take leave before he introduced his successor, which he did. Bonaparte expressed his regret at his departure, with some common compliments. He then said: "If you see the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, will you say I thank them for the books they sent me." The Admiral bowed, and only replied he had not the honour of their acquaintance. "He mentioned Lord Ebrington, to whom he wished I would say that he remembered him at Elba.<sup>1</sup> Bonaparte

<sup>1</sup> Lord Ebrington's account of these visits has been republished in *Macmillan's Magazine* for December 1894.

then requested I would introduce Admiral Plampin, which I did. The Admiral speaks French fluently." Understanding he had served in the Mediterranean, and that he had been at the capture of Toulon—this served for conversation—and the battle of the Nile, Bonaparte asked him, as he had frequently done Admiral Malcolm, what draft of water a ship-of-the-line should be lightened to, to enter a port. His other remarks were similar to what have been stated in former conversations. They only remained a short time. On taking leave, Bonaparte desired his respects to Lady Malcolm, and expressed his regret at not having seen her.









